THE ABORIGINES OF TAIWAN

The Puyuma: from headhunting to the modern world

Josiane Cauquelin

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The first comprehensive study of the Puyuma people of Taiwan, this book is based on extensive field research over a period of twenty years. The Puyuma are an Austronesian people, who today number less than 370,000. In Taiwan, they are the least known of the aboriginal groups, numbering only 6,000, and inhabiting the Southeastern province of Taitung. The Puyuma are today settled farmers, but until the twentieth century they subsisted on horticulture and hunting. The village that forms the focus of this study is called Puyuma (or Nanwang for the Taiwanese administration), whose inhabitants number 1,300. The study looks at the historical changes in the status and definition of these people in relation to the central state, the criteria by which people determine their own ethnic identity and the evolution of that identity through history. The increasing awareness in the West of the importance of ethnic relations makes this an especially timely book.

Josiane Cauquelin is a Researcher at Laboratoire d'Asie du Sud-Est et du Monde Austronésien (Southeast Asia and Austronesian World Department), Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France. She is Chargé de Cours at INALCO and Collaboratrice on a Franco-Chinese project on the Zhuang people of China. Her published works include books and articles on the Aborigines of Taiwan and the Buyi and Zhuang of South China.

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FOREWORD

With *The Aborigines of Taiwan*, Josiane Cauquelin has given us a first-class work on the aboriginal population of Taiwan, until now one of the least studied.

The great value of this work is incontestably due to the quality of the ethnography, which gives the theoretical content a solid basis. It has attained this high level thanks to the author's qualities not only as an observer, but also as a linguist, because, as so rarely happens, she is an anthropologist with a talent for languages. Josiane Cauquelin began her survey in Chinese, but very soon started to learn Puyuma, the Austronesian language of her hosts and informants. We may admire her linguistic sense in the analysis she gives us of the ritual language used by the shamans. To complete her biographical sources, apart from Chinese and European material (Josiane Cauquelin is first and foremost a Sinologist), she also set to work to learn Japanese, thus consolidating ethnology and linguistics in a virtually exhaustive bibliography.

The ethnology of the Puyuma presents numerous topics of interest, not only to the researcher, but also to the curious reader: head-hunting, shamanism, the dual organisation of the village, age-sets associated with rites of passage – all these may attract our attention, but the intimacy in which Josiane Cauquelin lived with these people over a period of several years (1983–4, and at intervals since) gives a particular depth and consistency to these topics, providing the richness of the present synthesis, which completes her numerous publications over the past ten years.

I will not repeat what the author has already written in such detail, but will simply emphasise several points that seem characteristic of her method. Whether the subject is the age system or shamanism, Josiane Cauquelin not only describes in meticulous detail what she herself has observed in her own experience, but also – and I find this particularly important – describes the dynamics of change in this society, due in part to her interpretation of the work of her Chinese, Western and Japanese predecessors, but mainly thanks to discussions with her partners, and their information concerning the past of their group. According to the author, the origin of these changes resides

less in internal movements than in upheavals imposed from the outside by conquering powers, especially the Japanese colonial system. It is also possible to predict, without error, a gloomy future for this population, crushed beneath the demographic weight of the Chinese, far more destructive than the centuries-long erosion by Han Chinese immigrants. It would be easy to cite an example of structural changes that have affected Puyuma society over a litle more than a century. For instance, uxorilocal organisation is increasingly giving way to virilocal residence. It must, however, be noted that residence plays a vital role in the perception of filiation and consanguinity, since a person belongs to the household of his or her birth; we could almost say that, for the Puyuma, the concept of 'house', as revealed by Claude Lévi-Strauss,[1] overrules that of consanguinity. Or, like Claude Vogel, whose general theory of consanguinity considers it to be a continuum,[2] we can see a striking example of the extremity of the continuum favouring residence, in direct opposition to that which only considers blood-ties and filiation, the only aspect to attract researchers' attention for nearly a century.

Similarly, with regard to shamanism, Josiane Cauquelin, supporting her theory with solid arguments, suggests that when the Puyuma were hunters, it was the men who were practitioners. After hunting and head-hunting (a symbolic source of fertility, and a man's means of access to the age-set of 'virile warrior') were forbidden, and farming was imposed by the Japanese conquerors, the system was turned over to women shamans. The author has also witnessed the shift of shamanism towards possession cults.

With this meticulous study of a small aboriginal society in Taiwan, with a more than uncertain future, Josiane Cauquelin has made an important contribution to our knowledge and understanding of human social organisation and change.

Professor Georges Condominas
Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales

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Thanks are due to all Puyuma of Nanwang. I owe a debt of gratitude to temamataw Shetiang, my chief informant, to his family whose life I shared for many months, to Abukul, without whose help I would never have been accepted in the group of shamans. I am grateful to Isaw who patiently explained to me all the subtleties of his language, and to Irubai, my dear friend.

I would also like to express my thanks to Dr Christian Pelras for offering much helpful advice for improving the entire manuscript.

Finally, I wish to thank Gérard Montastier, my partner, who shared all the hardships of fieldwork, provided the maps and did all the fine drawings (except for the six illustrations drawn by Asin) for this work.

INTRODUCTION

The Puyuma, consisting of two sub-groups, i.e. the Katipul and the Puyuma proper, inhabit the Taitung plain in the south-east of the island of Taiwan, formerly known in Western literature under the name Formosa. They are one of its aboriginal groups, which also include the Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Amis and Yami (some of these groups including named sub-groups). The aboriginal inhabitants of the island represent 1.7 per cent of the total population.They all speak Austronesian languages.

It is accepted today that the common ancestral Austronesian language, or 'Proto-Austronesian', was spoken at the beginning of the Neolithic period on the south China coast. This coast was the centre of a sea-going civilisation that enabled these populations to expand towards the Pacific Ocean, Taiwan, the Philippines, Indonesia and finally Oceania, and into the Indian Ocean as far as Madagascar. Bellwood (1985) presents extremely rich historical and archaeological linguistic data to support his reconstruction of Austronesian expansion southwards from Taiwan. He dates initial Austronesian colonisation between 4500 and 4000 BC, based on the fact that pottery, recognised as a sign of the first Austronesian communities, appeared in Taiwan at this time, a thousand years before its appearance in the South Sea islands. From a linguistic point of view, the Proto-Austronesian language split in 3000 BC. From 2500 BC onwards, a migration may be observed from the Philippines towards the Moluccas, and another through Palawan, Sulawesi and Borneo, until this movement affected the entire eastern part of the archipelago between 2000 and 500 BC.

As far as Taiwan is concerned, the varied composition of Formosan groups today could be explained by progressive immigration, internal separations and gradual differentiations.

I visited the island in the context of a stay in Taiwan for the purpose of improving my Chinese. Two of the above-listed peoples, the Amis and the Puyuma, interested me very much because they have a tendency towards a harmonic matrilocal and matrilineal type of organisation. I started to read the works published on these two population groups and discovered that Taiwanist ethnologists regularly study the Amis. On the Puyuma of Nanwang,

on the other hand, I found only thematic works. No complete study has ever been made of the language. In 1930, Ogawa and Asai translated seven legends from the village of Nanwang into Japanese. Tsuchida in 1980 wrote a grammar of the language as spoken at Rikabung, a village belonging to the Katipul dialect area. The Reverend Father D. Schröder, during several stays at Katipul covering in total over a year, collected a number of documents, which were translated into German by the missionary P. Veil, as Schröder never learned the language.

In the present work, I shall deal only with the Puyuma village (Chinese: Nanwang). In effect, two different origins of the common ancestral place have given rise to two dialectical groups: that of Katipul on the one hand, and that of Nanwang on the other. The population is distributed over ten villages: the eight Katipul-speaking villages and the Nanwang-speaking village of Puyuma, plus the satellite Apapolo. This latter hamlet is located at a distance of five kilometres from Taitung.

The island of Taiwan

Geographical location

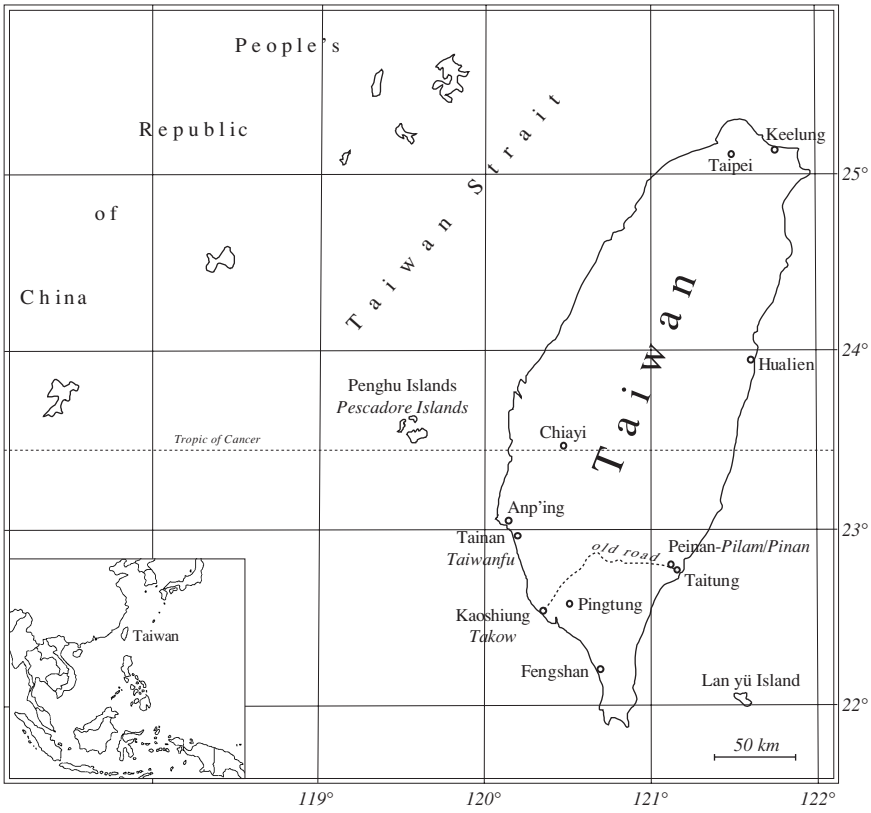
Situated between 21°55′ and 25°20′ latitude north and 119°35′ and 122° longitude east, Taiwan is a small island 377 kilometres long and 142 kilometres wide, with the Tropic of Cancer running through the middle of it. Although its surface area is only 35,961 km^2, a chain of high volcanic mountains – some over 3,500 m high – covers over half of it. Plains border the west coast, and 31 per cent of the territory is less than 100 metres in altitude. The aborigines, less than 2 per cent of the national population, live in the central mountains and the valley regions of the east and south-east, which represent 60 per cent of the total surface area.

Until the sixteenth century, all the islands formed by the chain of underwater mountains stretching from the Chinese province of Fukien to Japan were known by the Chinese as Lieou-k'ieou. In 1612, Taiwan, literally 'the high peaks', acquired its present name, which did not become generally used until after the conquest of Koxinga in 1661.

Historical summary

Sources: from the third to the sixteenth centuries[1]

Until the end of the nineteenth century, Westerners thought that relations between China and Taiwan only began in the fifth century, and that the first Chinese immigrants did not settle on the island until the fall of the Ming dynasty (1644).



Map I.1 Taiwan and the location of the main places

However, Chapter 2 of the *Biography of the Sovereign of the State of Wu* in the *Annals of the Three Kingdoms*,[2] *Sankuo-chih*, *wuchu ch'uan*, notes that: 'In the first lunar month of the second year of the Huang Long era [AD 230] . . . generals Wei Wen and Chu Wanchih set out to sea with ten thousand soldiers to search for a "barbarian continent", *Yi chou*, and *T'an chou*.' In the same work, we encounter 'Savage island', *yi tao*.[3] In the *Historical Annals of the Souei Dynasty*, a monograph on the country of *Lieou-k'ieou*,[4] *Souei shu, Lieou-k'ieou kuo* (581–618), Chapter 81, the name *Lieou-k'ieou* appears. In the Sung dynasty (1127–1278), Ch'ao Chü-k'ua, a geographer and superintendent of the merchant navy, wrote *Annals of the Barbarians – a Monograph on Lieou-k'ieou*, *Chu fan chih – Lieou-k'ieou kuo*, and in Chapter 1, he mentioned for the first time the name of the Penghu islands,[5] apparently occupied by the Chinese since the reign of Emperor Wen (589–604) of Souei, although they did not settle there until the Yuan era (1279–1367), during the reign of Chih-yuan (1335–40). The Imperial Court installed a

sub-district governor, *hsun chientzu.* The inhabitants were known as 'western barbarians', *tung fan.* Chapter 210 of the *Historical Annals of the Yuan Dynasty* (1206–1368) is entitled *Lieou-k'ieou*. But it was with the Ming dynasty, between 1405 and 1432, that the island became part of the history of China. The Imperial Court set up an administrative infrastructure and took a census of the villages. The arrival of Cheng Ch'eng-kung (Koxinga) in 1661 upset the aboriginal inhabitants of the west coast, who took refuge in the central mountains and on the east coast. For many years, the term *Lieou-k'ieou* referred only to the present Ryukyus islands, but what does it actually signify?

In France, Hervey de Saint-Denys (1874, 1875), translated the last part of a work entitled *Wen hsien t'ung kao*, Extensive research into ancient monuments,[6] by the thirteenth century Chinese encyclopaedia writer Ma Touan-lin:

> In the Souei dynasty, in the first of the ta-nie years (605), a naval captain named Ho-man and several other Chinese of the same calling said: When the sky is clear and the sea calm, looking towards the eastern horizon, one appears to see vapours, and the smoke of domestic fires. At this time, Emperor Yang-ti had ordered the military mandarin Tchu-kouan[7] to go to sea and search for unknown lands. Tchu-kouan, who had heard the words of Ho-man, took the sailor with him, and they arrived together in the kingdom of Lieou-kieou. It was impossible to understand the language of the inhabitants; they seized a native and set sail back to China. The following year, Tchu-kouan's mission was to return to Lieou-kieou and summon its ruler to come and pay homage, but King Ko-la-teou did not agree to this. Tchu-kouan brought back one of the aforementioned breastplates to show the Emperor. The Emperor ordered Tchin-leng to assemble troops and lead an expedition against the prince who had refused to obey him. Tchin-leng sailed from Y-ngan (today Tchâo-tcheou-fou in Kwangtung province), first stopping at the small island of Kao-hoa (the southernmost of the Peng-hou islands); then, continuing east, he anchored two days later at the small island of Youen-peï (at the northern point of the Peng-hou islands), finally arriving on the following day in the kingdom of Lieou-kieou.

For this sinologist, the kingdom of Lieou-k'ieou described by Ma Touan-lin includes the Ryukyus archipelago and Taiwan. The author affirms that it is impossible to see smoke from dwellings in the Ryukyus islands since the two archipelagos are separated by Formosa, with its high mountain peaks; moreover, no vessel was capable of making such a crossing in one day, and the description of the island corresponds perfectly to that of a large island like Formosa. The author's final argument rests on language, since a Japanese dialect is spoken in the Ryukyus, whereas the languages spoken in Formosa,

belonging to the Austronesian group, were incomprehensible to travellers at that time.

This question resurfaced in 1886 with a new study of the texts performed by Léon de Rosny,[8] and in 1895 with the research of G. Schlegel affirming that the name Lieou-k'ieou concerned only the island of Taiwan. In fact, two conflicting theories concerning the identification of Lieou-k'ieou came into existence at the end of the nineteenth century: did this name designate Formosa, the Ryukyus, or both at the same time? In any case, it could only have applied to the Ryukyus from the Ming period onwards (*c*.1372–82). Hagenauer (1930a: 27) admits that 'both theories could be partly true'.

The modern period: from the seventeenth century to Japanese colonisation

When Portuguese navigators came upon the island of Taiwan, they were struck by the tremendous beauty of its green mountains. They named the island *Ilha Formosa*, 'the Beautiful Island', and under this name Taiwan was introduced to the Western world. Portuguese interest in the island was only moderate, since they left soon after establishing a settlement in the north.

The next Europeans to occupy Taiwan were the Dutch. Modern Taiwanese history begins with the arrival of the Dutch, who, led by Admiral Kornelis Reyersoon, attempted to settle in the Penghu archipelago in 1622, but they were driven out in 1624. Since the Chinese did not consider Taiwan to be part of their territory, the Dutch were allowed to occupy it. However, they had to ask the Japanese, who had founded colonies there, for permission to set up a trading post. This was initially refused, but in 1634 the Dutch set up Fort Zeelandia at Taiwanfu, and Fort Providentia at Anp'ing.

The news of the Dutch success in Taiwan alarmed the Spanish in the Philippines so much that they sent a fleet from Manila to the northern part of Taiwan, which in 1626 was still not occupied by the Dutch. The Spanish soon took control of the north-eastern cape of the island, naming it Santiago. Before long, however, they gave up this location and moved to a place named Santisima Trinidad, which is known now as Keelung harbour. In Keelung, they built Fort San Salvador. In the summer of 1629, the Spanish entered what is now Tamsui, which they named Castillo, and built Fort San Domingo. In Castillo, the Spanish set up a government. The Dutch in southern Taiwan made many attempts to drive the Spanish out of the north. In 1630 and 1641, the Dutch attacked Castillo and Fort San Domingo, but in vain. Finally, in the summer of 1642, the Spanish, threatened by a native rebellion in the Philippines, were forced to recall three-quarters of their troops from Taiwan, and the Dutch conquered Castillo.

The island was then given the name of Keelung, thus taking the name of the northern port occupied by the Dutch. The *Batavia Diary* gazette for 2 April 1631 reports that a few Chinese had already settled in Taiwan – mostly

salt and rice merchants, some of whom were married to aboriginal women. It also gives information about the transport by the Dutch East India Company of workers migrating from China to Taiwan.

After 1636, the Dutch authorities encouraged farming, especially sugarcane growing, and the administration mentions some 10,640,000 pounds of sugar sent to Japan in a single year. According to a report written by the island's second governor, Peter Nuyts, Taiwan was an excellent trading port, enabling 100 per cent profits to be made on all goods.

At the end of the Ming dynasty, in the reign of Chung Chen (1628–44), the governor of Fukien province gave every emigrant to Taiwan three taels, plus a cow for every group of three individuals. The Chinese began to flock to the island. Then, in 1657, Cheng Ch'eng-kung (also known as Koxinga[9]), took refuge in a small island separated from Amoy by a narrow strait. To try to stop this exodus, the new Manchu government issued a coastal evacuation decree in 1661, obliging all inhabitants of coastal areas to retreat thirty *li*[10] inland: 'not a single plank of wood must go into the sea, nor a single grain of rice cross the straits'. The Court wanted to prevent all contact between the people and the fugitives. The inhabitants of the Fukien coasts, fishermen and farmers, suffered greatly from this exile, and, starved and ruined, joined Koxinga's army. Koxinga found himself in such a perilous position that he began to look about for safer quarters, the large and fertile island of Formosa attracted his attention and he commenced secret preparations with the hope of gaining the 'Beautiful Island' for his own. In 1661, Fort Providentia was surrendered, thus permitting the Dutch to concentrate their forces at Fort Zeelandia. But in the year 1662, after thirty years' continuance, Dutch authority in Formosa ceased; for although Keelung was recaptured by Admiral Bort in 1664, it was again abandoned in May 1668, being no longer profitable, and the Dutch territorial possessions in the China seas ended.

However, Professor Chen Shao-hsing (1964: 117) considers that the Chinese population of Taiwan at this time did not exceed 120,000 individuals. In order to succeed in re-conquering the continent, Koxinga allocated land as mentioned in the *Dagh-Register gehouden in't Casteel Batavia*[11] for 21 December 1661. This distribution of land was similar to that carried out on the continent under the Han dynasty (220 BC to AD 220), with government fields, private fields, ancient fields, aborigines' fields and camp fields. When Koxinga died, the mainland followers proclaimed Cheng Ching, his eldest son, the second King of Formosa, and he established his court at Zeelandia as his father had done.

In 1683 the Manchu government of Fukien province, helped by the Dutch, launched an expedition which led to the submission of the north-west coast of the island. The entire island was placed under the administration of the Chinese province of Fukien. Father de Mailla (1715: 30) mentions this division into three main areas: 'The Chinese divide the lands they own in Formosa into

three *Hien* or subordinate governments which are dependent on the island's capital. These three governments are, Tai-ouan-hien, Fong-kan-hien and Tchu-lo-hien. Each has its own officers who answer directly to the island's Governor-General, and he, and the entire island, are subject to the Viceroy of Fukien Province, of which Tai-ouan or Formosa is a part.'[12]

Immigrants continued to flock in, and in 1810 more than two million Chinese were counted. In contrast, at the beginning of the Manchu Ch'ing dynasty, a trader from Hangzhou, Yü Yung-ho, arrived in Tainan, and crossed the western plain as far as the northern point of the island. In his *Little Story from Overseas*, written in 1698, he mentions that he saw and went through only aboriginal villages.

The eighteenth century passed without the visits of any foreigners to the island, with the exception of the great French traveller La Pérouse in 1787. The latter half of the nineteenth century embraces a period of great commercial activity. The Japanese, as well as other foreign powers, deeply coveted Taiwan's wealth. The British were the first to suggest the occupation of Formosa. Although the island was nominally possessed by China, it was well known that, over the larger half, that nation claimed no jurisdiction, and even in the Chinese districts the authority of the emperor was weak. During the Opium War (1839–42), British warships patrolled the Taiwan coast to check for any moves by Ch'ing forces stationed on the island. Commodore Matthew Perry, commander of the US East Indian Fleet, sent warships to Keelung to measure water depth and mineral reserves. Four years later, Prussian ships fired on indigeneous people in southern Taiwan. After the conclusion of the Treaty of T'ientsin in 1858, four Taiwanese ports, Anp'ing, Tamsui, Takow (modern Kaohsiung) and Keelung, were opened to foreign trade. In 1866, American warships bombarded aborigines in southern Taiwan to punish their slaughter of two shipwrecked American sailors. In 1869, British warships attacked Anp'ing and demanded better terms for the camphor trade. In 1874, Japan's Meiji government troops attacked aborigines in Mutan She to force the Ch'ing court into dropping its opposition to the Japanese annexation of Okinawa. In 1884, France attacked and shut down Keelung, Tamsui and the Pescadores to curb Ch'ing power.

All this made the Manchu court realize Taiwan's importance as a gateway to the seven provinces along the southeastern coast. In 1885, the Ch'ing dynasty made Taiwan its twenty-second province. The first governor of the island modernized Taiwan's defences against foreign aggression, implemented tax reforms to make Taiwan financially independent and educated its indigenous peoples. An irrigation system was planned to increase agricultural production.

Japanese colonisation: 1895–1945

During the summer of 1894, war broke out between the empires of Japan and China. The following spring, hostilities were discontinued. Some months

before the signing of the Treaty of Peace between the two nations, the island of Formosa came into the range of possibilities as a future possession of Japan. Then Taiwan was ceded to Japan in 1895 under the terms of the treaty of Shimonoseki. Manchu officials stationed in Taiwan and local notables declared independence on 25 May 1895, and formed the Democratic Taiwan Nation to resist the Japanese take-over.

Until Japanese colonisation, the island consisted of a multitude of ethnic groups maintaining extremely conflictual relations, and the population remained very fragmented and disunited. Colonisation introduced a profound break in this scheme of things, without completely overturning it. It considerably changed society and reinforced its cohesion, while integrating it into the Japanese orbit, and creating lasting differences with China. It also laid the basis for a collective consciousness on the island, which manifested itself in a desire for recognition and political assertion. However, unlike in other colonies, it did not lead to a claim for independence, and the question of belonging to China has remained open.

Japanese colonial policy may be divided into two periods, with 1919 as the turning point. During the first period, the concept of Taiwan's 'specificity' predominated on political and cultural levels, and the colonial government's efforts were mainly concentrated on keeping order. The first three governors were kept busy with uprisings against the occupier, and spent most of their time repressing the anti-Japanese guerrilla movement. Since armed repression proved to be prohibitively expensive, swallowing up nearly 90 per cent of the colonial budget, and gave only mediocre results, some high Japanese officials even recommended selling Taiwan to France. The island's first socio-economic upheavals occurred with the adoption of three important policies from 1898 onwards: a land census, followed by that of forests, then the introduction of a monetary system. The second period, on the contrary, was dominated by political liberalisation followed by cultural assimilation.

From the 1930s onwards, Japan launched an active industrialisation policy in order to face up to international competition. This policy culminated in 1937 in the island's transformation into a 'base for southwards expansion', with the development of a war industry to meet the needs of Japanese expansionist policy. In the same year a campaign was launched to make the islanders 'subjects of the Emperor', identical to the Japanese in all ways. The vernacular was forbidden in public places, including 'state schools', where, apart from in classes given in Japanese, its use had hitherto been tolerated. Another campaign, supported by the police, was launched to adopt Japanese names. People were encouraged to change the names of streets, towns, rivers and mountains. The Taiwanese had to give up their traditional arts, such as the various forms of popular theatre they greatly valued, and take to Japanese ones. They were also forced to substitute Shintoism for ancestor worship, and in temples, and even homes, statues of Buddha were reduced to ashes. The islanders were required to imitate external appearance,

from kimonos to haircuts. The union of the two peoples was encouraged by the legalisation of mixed marriages. In parallel, a widespread system of primary education was introduced, which became compulsory in 1943, and Taiwanese access to higher education – initially extremely limited – was progressively extended to a large fraction of the population.

The new power attempted to manipulate Taiwanese identity in the hope of making Formosan Chinese feel different from mainland Chinese. The Governor General exploited collective memory through images such as that of the seventeenth-century hero Koxinga. Insisting on his defence of Taiwan's independence from the rule of the Ch'ing, the Japanese kept quiet about the fact that he was loyal to the Ming, deposed in 1644; and by emphasising the fact that his mother was Japanese they showed that, for these two reasons, Koxinga was proof of the Formosans' particular destiny to leave the bosom of China for that of Japan.

The effect of this method of integration was to stabilise the population and to break down divisions in society and land, and it contributed to national feeling on the island. It created the conditions for a rapid rise in the level of development and standards of living, which benefited the population as a whole – despite the exploitation of the peasantry – and reinforced its cohesion. The Taiwanese elite identified with Japan's modernity. They acquired a more cosmopolitan culture, and, thanks to their socio-professional integration and the changes in their lifestyle, they became more open, and less attached to classical Chinese culture and traditions.

The contemporary period: from 1945 onwards

Japanese forces surrendered the island of Taiwan to the Allied forces on 25 October 1945. The Allies then placed the island under the sovereignty of the Republic of China in accordance with the Cairo Declaration. With the retrocession of Taiwan to the Republic of China, the manipulation of the island's identity reverted to a sinicisation process from autumn 1945 onwards, but especially after the retreat of Chiang Kai-shek's central government to Taipei in December 1949.[13] This goal, perceived as necessary after fifty years of Japanese colonisation, became strategic for the pacification of the island and the legitimisation of the existing government.

Thus, a real attempt to redefine peoples' identity and ideology was launched. To support the project, the government implemented an entire 're-sinicisation' policy for the island's population, aimed at re-anchoring it in the Chinese nation and mobilising its goals and nationalist ideology. Once again, the island's place names were completely changed; the example of street names is particularly significant. In order to instil a sentiment of belonging to China, an extremely active cultural policy was launched, valorising the inheritance and history of the Chinese nation, and the teaching of Mandarin in schools and its use in the media was made compulsory. However,

the island's occupation led to strong reactions among the population with regard to its identity, and one of the first effects was certainly the reinforcement of the 'Taiwanese people's consciousness of being Taiwanese'. People continued to speak their own languages, and idealised the acquisitions of the Japanese period, distinguishing themselves from the mainland population, which emphasised its Chinese character.

The first forty years of the nationalist regime in Taiwan (1949–87) did not allow any real application of the fundamental law of the Republic of China, concentrating power as a whole in the hands of the Kuomintang and especially Chiang Kai-shek and then his son Chiang Ching-kuo. Taiwan was evidently not a free country, yet there was a period when the island symbolised free China (representatives of the Chinese Republic of Taiwan sat on the UN security council until 1971, before being expelled and replaced by representatives from the People's Republic of China). Democratisation started in 1986 with the creation of the first opposition party, the Progressive Democratic Party, and the lifting of martial law in 1987, followed by constitutional reforms in 1990, 1991 and 1994 resituating state institutions within the limits of the island, and ensuring the electoral representation of the population in national assemblies, and the election of the president by universal suffrage.

Today, no one would dare deny that the Chinese Republic of Taiwan is provided with democratic institutions, and that, in the context of the third wave of democratisation that began in the West in 1974, it is one of the outstanding examples in Asia of a gentle transition from hard-line authoritarianism to innovative democracy.

Democratisation corresponded to Chinese economic opening, which risked increasing the island's vulnerability in relation to China. Taiwanese businessmen were quick to take advantage of differences in development on either side of the straits, and the renewal of relations with China in 1987 was followed by a massive delocalisation of Taiwanese industry, labour and capital to the mainland.

The importance, especially economic, of Taiwan emphasises the problem that confronts 20 million people: a government set up on a small island south-east of the great Chinese continent has promoted its social and economic development, making this territory a world power; but since Beijing does not allow any country to recognise it, this government remains 'unrecognised', without any official diplomatic relations with the majority of states. The growth of national wealth has been spectacular, and GNP per inhabitant has increased, in US dollars at current value, from $1,577 in 1978 to $13,665 in 1997. This new wealth has launched Taiwanese society into mass consumerism.

The regime's democratisation has been responsible as much for allowing the expression of community spirit, and emphasising Taiwanese identity, as for recognising cultural peculiarities. The affirmation of the Aborigines,

some of whose claims have been recognised, the revision of school curricula, now centred on the history of the island rather than that of China, development in the wake of the independence movement led by the Progressive Democratic Party and reflection on the origins of Taiwanese identity are all part of this phenomenon.

The Austronesians of the island

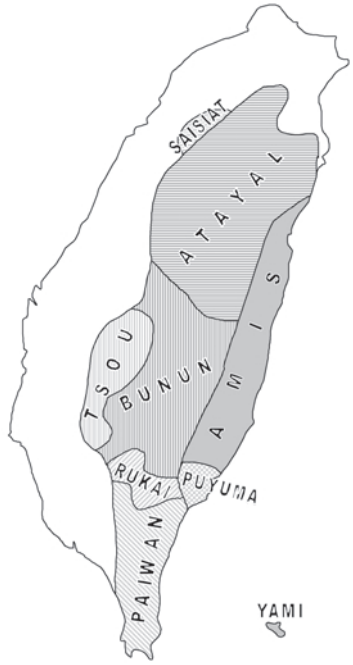
Historical summary

First mention of the Austronesians

The monographs of the encyclopaedia writer Ma Touan-lin, written in the thirteenth century, describe a kingdom, *Pi-che-ye*:

> It is inhabited by naked men, with great wild eyes, who speak an incomprehensible language and seem to be scarcely human. In the Sung dynasty, in the middle of the Chun-li period (1174–1189), several hundreds of these barbarians, led by fearless chiefs, suddenly landed on the coast of Fo-kien, entered several villages in the department of Tsiouen-tcheou, committed many murders, and carried off a certain number of inhabitants. Their greed was particularly aroused by iron; when people closed their doors in fear as they passed, they ripped the iron rings off them. Their pursuit was halted momentarily by throwing them spoons or skewers which they never failed to pick up. If they were captured by Chinese horsemen clad in armour, they threw themselves on their captors in fury, and tried to cut the straps of their breastplates. Nothing could curb their ferocity. They have a weapon which is a kind of javelin with an iron tip, held in the hand by a rope ten cubits long. Iron is so valuable in their eyes that they do not wish to risk losing their javelins when throwing them. They do not use boats, only bamboo rafts, which fold up like a screen. They take care to carry these rafts on their shoulders, thus conserving a means of flight by putting to sea.

Hervey de Saint-Denys explains that 'These barbarians from *Pi-che-ye* lived next to the kingdom of Lieou-k'ieou, not on a separate island. Formosa was therefore occupied at that time by different races, the most civilised of which lived on the west coast, opposite the Peng-hou islands, and the other of which may still be represented today by the savage tribes which have retained their independence, living along the whole of the east coast.' If this hypothesis is correct, we notice that the island was already divided into two in the fourteenth century, with the western plains inhabited by 'civilised barbarians' and the eastern plains by 'uncivilised barbarians'.



Map I.2 The present location of all aboriginal groups

Father de Mailla (1781: 19) confirms this division of the island, whose western part belonged to China and whose eastern part was a 'mountainous country, uncultivated and wild, inhabited by Barbarians'. Taylor (1885–6: 121) writes that the north of the island was already in Chinese hands, and that the barbarians had been evicted from the most fertile coastal plains. South of Takow (now the town of Kaohsiung), Chinese settlers were still few and far-between, and the 'savages' retained their rights and received rent for exploitation of the forests. This author also noted that the situation could not last, since Chinese immigrants were increasingly numerous and invasive. Imbault-Huart (1893: 243) also gives an account of the sinicisation of the aborigines of the west coast:

> The second class of inhabitants of Formosa are the Sek-'houan (*cheou-fan* or cooked barbarians), or civilised natives. The Pepo-houan of northern Formosa give themselves the name of *kabaran*. Driven back by the Chinese colonists, they headed for the north-east and have even gone part of the way down the east coast, where they have founded prosperous settlements. The third class of Formosan inhabitants are the Tche-houan (*cheng-fan*, or raw barbarians), uncivilised

> or wild natives. They were the first occupants of the land, and have been gradually expelled from the coastal plains and driven back into the deserted gorges and deep forests of the central mountains.

Davidson (1903: 563) mentions the *ping-pu*, but as a dying race:

> the Pepo (*Pepohouan*), the Puyuma and Amis groups are called '*jukuban*', or domesticated savages, by the Japanese. The Pepo live in the western plain, the Puyuma and the Amis in the eastern plain. The savages in these three groups have been stripped of most of their lands by the Chinese. Influenced by the strength and intelligence of the new arrivals, they have abandoned most of their customs, and in certain cases even their language, and adopted those of the Chinese. It is the abandoning of their ancient customs that has given them the name of 'domesticated savages' . . . The Chinese have become completely integrated, whereas, year after year, the number of savages has decreased, at the same time as their influence, and today the Pepo population is only a tenth of what it was a century ago, and in a poverty-stricken condition.

These west-coast populations had already nearly disappeared from the map before the arrival of the Japanese in 1895. The question of the Puyuma will be dealt with in Chapter 1.

First contact with the Chinese administration and settlers

In 1684, as I have already mentioned, the Manchu Imperial Court settled government officials on the island. Relations between Chinese and natives were very difficult, and the latter were divided into 'cooked' and 'raw' barbarians. The same year, the authorities tried to force Chinese suzerainty on the first group, and each small settlement became a 'village'.[14] But their assimilation was not as easily obtained as the government had hoped. In 1732, the Taokas, helped by the Pazeh, revolted and massacred Chinese immigrants. In May 1733, a dozen villages, including Papora, sparked off further hostilities, and the Chinese fled. The governor of Fukien sent in troops, and the rebellion ended in a bloodbath. The survivors took refuge in the mountains. In 1808, a bloody incident forced about a thousand aborigines, including a large number of Pazeh, to flee to the Ilan plain in the north-east. Years later, they returned to their village, but discovered that their relations had settled in the P'uli basin, which was unfortunately opened up to colonisation in 1847. Thus began the 'civilisation' of these western groups, the 'cooked barbarians'.

An edict of 1758 obliged men to wear the Manchu pigtail and adopt the family name allocated to them by the civil service; they added their native

name transcribed into Chinese characters – the family name *pan* (formed by the characters 'barbarian' and 'water') is the most frequent.

Father de Mailla (1781) informs us of the brutal treatment inflicted on the aborigines by the Chinese, who already knew by the sixteenth century that the sub-soil of Taiwan contained gold and silver. In the seventeenth century, the Spanish missionary Celedonio Arranz mentions the existence of gold-bearing sands in the north and on the east coast. The brutality of the Chinese is confirmed in 1824 by Klaproth, who describes the tribute-collectors as 'veritable leeches, who treat the poor Formosans with such rigour and cruelty that it has given rise to riots and revolts among them'.

In these works, only the 'cooked barbarians' of the west coast are concerned. According to Ino, the Pazeh still spoke their own language in 1897. These plains barbarians, the *ping pu fan*, appear on a list drawn up in 1910 by Torii. Mabuchii (1960: 127) divides the 'plains barbarians' of the north and west of the island into fifteen groups: Luilang, Ketagalan or Basai, Turubiawan, Qauqaut and Linau, Kavalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Papora, Babuza, Arikun, Hoanya and Lloa, Sau or Thau, Siraya or Sideia, Taivoan, and Makatau. Ferrell, in 1968, met only a few elderly people who remembered a reduced vocabulary, but all the others were completely sinicised. He drew up a linguistic map of the most important groups, which include the Luilang (Ketagalan), Vasai, Kuvalan, Taokas, Pazeh, Papora, Babuza (Favorlang), Hoanya, Siraya and Makatau.[15] According to Chen Shao-hsing (1955: 3) the total population in 1950 was 60,000.

The first attempts at educating the 'raw barbarians' of the east and centre began in 1875 with the creation of a new district with Pinan (or Pilam) as its prefecture. But until 1895, the Chinese administration neglected the southern tip of the island, governed by a single magistrate, and belonging to the department of Fengshan, a town on the west coast. In theory, the eastern and southern regions of the island were placed under the control of a sub-prefect residing in Taiwanfu, but were, in practice, independent. MacGovern (1922) gives an account of the fraudulent procedures used by the Chinese to drive the aborigines on to poor quality land. The Chinese functionaries embezzled rents owed to the aborigines from camphor tree concessions, swindled them during business deals and betrayed them by summoning them to tribunals to settle their lawsuits and then beheading them. Retaliations, often lasting several months, followed.

The Japanese administration and its classification of these people

The authorities of the Manchu dynasty designated the aborigines by the term *sheng fan*, 'raw or undomesticated barbarians', (*ts'i huan* in Taiwanese), *shan fan*, 'mountain barbarians' (*sua huan* in Taiwanese), or *ye fan*, 'savage barbarians' (*ya huan* in Taiwanese), as opposed to *shu fan*, 'cooked or domesticated barbarians' (*sek huan* in Taiwanese), *hua fan*, 'civilised barbarians'

(*hua huan* in Taiwanese), or finally *ping pu fan*, 'plains barbarians' (*pipo huan*). In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Japanese called the island Takasago, literally 'high mountain'. The colonial administration officially called the aborigines 'Peoples of Takasago', literally 'Peoples of the high mountains', since the Manchu term 'barbarians' seemed insulting to the foreign administrators.

According to Davidson (1903: 427), the Japanese administration improved the aborigines' living conditions: 'With the arrival of the Japanese the conditions improved on the whole. There were no more Chinese mandarins to deceive the savages, who were now more sure of justice.' MacGovern (1922) reacted to this over-optimistic description, and stated that the aborigines' lifestyle was little affected by the change of masters, even wondering whether eating white rice was not responsible for an outbreak of beriberi – contracted by many Japanese – from which the natives had hitherto been spared by eating millet.

The year following the conquest of the island, the Japanese began taking a census of the Austronesians. Thus, in 1896, S. Irie drew up a list of five peoples: Peipo hokuban, Hakku (northern barbarians), Ariyasu namban, Teihon and Waiwan (southern barbarians). In 1898, Ino divided them into seven groups: Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, Supaiwan, Tsarisen, Puyuma, and Ami. Denniker (1900) and Davidson (1903) adopted this classification: Atayal group, Vonum group, Tsou group, Tsalisen group, Paiwan group, Puyuma group, Ami group. Davidson added the Pepo of the east coast north of Taitung. In 1910, Torii drew up a new classification: Taiyal, Nutaka (Tsou), Bounoun, Saou (Thao), Tsarisène (Rukai), Paiwan, Pyouma, Ami, Yami, Peipo. In 1910–11, the Aboriginal Affairs Bureau provided a classification based on the work of Ino and Torii: Atayal, Bunun, Tsou, Tsarisen, Paiwan, Puyuma, Ami, Yami and Saisiat. In 1912, Mori, in the Japanese encyclopaedia, mentioned a list of only six peoples, from which the Saisiat were once again absent, with the Puyuma and Tsarisen grouped together with the Paiwan. In 1913, the Bureau of Aboriginal Affairs published this list, which was used for many years by Japanese and Taiwanese researchers.

In 1922, MacGovern challenged this classification, and accused Ishii of failing to admit that the Puyuma possessed their own social organisation, and that this population should have been the subject of a separate study, outside the Paiwan group.

In 1935, Utsurikawa *et al.* gave a list of nine names: Atayal, Saisiat, Bunun, Tsou, Rukai, Paiwan, Panapanayan (Puyuma), Pangtsah (Ami), Yami. This classification is frequently used in distribution maps.

A brief demographic study

Today, the aborigines live in the mountainous central regions, on the eastern plain between Hualien and Taitung, and on the island of Botel Tobago (Lan

Table I.1 Aboriginal population from 1910 to 1964

Year	*Total population of the island*	*Aboriginal population*	*% of the total population*
1910	3,299,493	122,106	3.7
1915	3,569,842	132,279	3.7
1920	3,757,838	130,310	3.5
1925	4,147,462	136,706	3.3
1930	4,679,066	140,553	3.0
1935	5,315,642	150,502	2.8
1940	6,077,478	158,321	2.6
1945	6,617,525	167,561	2.5
1952	8,128,274	169,250	2.1
1957	9,690,250	188,442	1.9
1964	12,256,682	234,919	1.9

Source: Chen Cheng-siang (1959: 251). The eleventh edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives an aboriginal population of 104,334 inhabitants in 1910.

yü island). They occupy some 19,000 km^2, about 60 per cent of the total surface area of the island. According to statistics collected in 1935, the Chinese represented about 20 per cent of the population in the Hualien, Taitung and Pingtung regions, but up to 60 per cent in the north-west. Today, aborigines represent about 2 per cent of the total population, but 20 per cent of the local population.

The 1910 census counted 122,106 individuals, i.e. 3.7 per cent of the total population. Although numbers of aborigines have continuously increased, the percentage has dropped, since their reproduction rate is lower than that of the Chinese. In 1964, aborigines accounted for only 1.9 per cent of the population (see Table I.1).

The two Taiwanese ethnologists Wei Hwei-lin and Wang Jen-ying took a census in 1964 (see Table I.2), and drew up a comparative table of the

Table I.2 Increase in the aboriginal population from 1939 to 1964

Groups	*Population*		*Increase in 25 years*	*Increase percentage*	*Annual increase*
	1939	1964			
Atayal	37,648	54,777	17,129	45.5	1.8
Saisiat	1,689	2,857	1,168	69.2	2.8
Bunun	17,490	24,207	6,717	38.4	1.5
Tsou	2,293	3,638	1,345	58.1	2.3
Rukai	6,250	6,305	55	0.9	0.03
Paiwan	33,017	44,679	11,662	35.3	1.4
Puyuma	5,061	6,335	1,274	25.2	1.0
Amis	52,137	89,802	37,665	72.2	2.9
Yami	1,777	1,996	219	12.3	0.5
Total	157,362	234,919	77,557	49.3	2.0

Table I.3 Sex ratio

Groups	*1930*			*1964*		
	Men	*Women*	*%*	*Men*	*Women*	*%*
Atayal	16,231	16,694	99.7	27,873	26,904	103.6
Saisiat	665	612	108.7	1,431	1,426	100.3
Bunun	9,189	8,675	105.9	12,135	12,072	100.5
Tsou	1,141	993	114.9	1,869	1,769	105.6
Rukai	2,380	2,277	105.0	3,256	3,046	106.8
Paiwan	16,244	15,810	102.7	22,811	21,871	104.3
Puyuma	2,328	2,487	93.6	3,136	3,196	98.0
Amis	21,533	21,609	99.6	45,549	44,253	102.9
Yami	862	787	109.5	1,047	949	110.3
Total	70,573	69,944	109.0	119,233	115,686	103.1

Note: Percentages indicate the male population as a proportion of the female population.

Source: Wei and Wang (1964: 119).

aboriginal population between 1939 and 1964. The study reveals an increase in the Amis and Saisiat, which the authors attribute to improved hygienic conditions.

The Puyuma

A few kilometres from the village of Puyuma (Nanwang for the Chinese administration) a site has been discovered, which archaeologists have named the 'Peinan culture'. It is the biggest prehistoric site discovered on the island. Many objects have been unearthed from the graves, including jars, vases, glass, spinning wheels, stone and jade objects such as diadems, earrings, breast-plates and necklaces, arrowheads and spearheads, all in perfect condition. However, the pottery, axes, knives and adzes are mostly broken. The pottery is simple and undecorated, apart from a few specimens with raised designs. This Neolithic site, for the Puyuma, is the village of the La⌊anes mentioned in myth (see Chapter 1), but for archaeologists it is probably a site occupied by the aborigines before they separated into several different groups.

In 1650, the Dutch controlled 293 villages, 37 of which were located in the Pilam or Pinan region (i.e. Peinan, present-day Taitung). The Puyuma have a term for 'Dutch', *Oranda*. They say that the *Oranda* came to the village to sell trinkets and matches. A little girl 'with yellow hair' was born in the Butul household, but died when she was still young, and left no descendants. Father Schröder's main informant, the female shaman Valikai, tells the story of Kalokal, who was abducted by the Dutch. His fate remains uncertain, but he is said to have died in Holland.

The Japanese expedition of 1874 stimulated the Chinese administration, which established itself in the south and east of the island, and fortified the towns to prevent them from falling into Japanese hands. In this way, the Imperial envoy Shen Pao-chen created in 1875 a new district on the south-east coast, encompassing the territory east of Fengshan district. The prefecture was established at Pinan (or Pilam). A road was built from the west coast, making it possible to reach Pilam in four days from the port of Takow.

It was probably this information that led Davidson to write in 1903 that the Pepo, Puyuma and Ami groups were sinicised, stripped of their lands, and had adopted Chinese customs. These statements do not reflect reality, and even today, all Puyuma aged fifty and over speak only their own language, sprinkled with Japanese expressions. They have always ferociously guarded their village, and elderly informants remember head-hunting expeditions. In 1874, 29 years before Davidson, Bullock devotes a few lines to the Puyuma: 'The Pe-lam-hwan are a tribe of wild savages on the East Coast, probably about opposite Takow. Their exact locality however is not known'. Taylor (1885–6: 195) writes a chapter about a group named the Tipuns. These are Puyuma from the village of Katipul, 'those of Tipul'. In the following chapter, the author describes another people living to the north-west of the Tipuns, the Diaramoks, recognisable as the Rukai village of Taromak. He notes that the Tipuns reign over the whole of the south, and mentions the name of their chief, Takitok, probably the famous Karitag.[16] Also mentioned is a certain Tooke-tok (Tokotof), chief of the eighteen tribes occupying the south of the island, whom General C. W. Le Gendre, US Consul at Amoy, met in September 1867 (Davidson 1903: 119–20). Among the thirteen tribes cited, it is possible to recognise the Bootan as the Vata'an (Ami) and Pepo, but no name resembles that of the Puyuma of Tipul (or Tipun). Could the reference be to another person? Probably not, since Le Gendre's account continues: 'Tooke-tok would meet us at the volcano, some four miles from the east coast of the island, i.e. in the midst of the savage territory.'

1

THE PUYUMA

Linguistics

The Austronesian (AN) family is assumed to divide into two primary branches, Formosan and non-Formosan. The estimated 900 to 1,200 non-Formosan AN languages belong to a single enormous subgroup, known as 'Malayo-Polynesian' (MP). Within the MP subgroup the fundamental split separates Western MP (WMP: Philippines, western Indonesia, mainland Southeast Asia, Madagascar, and Palau and the Marianas of western Micronesia), from Central-Eastern MP (CEMP: eastern Indonesia, Melanesia, Micronesia except as qualified above, Polynesia). By far the most important CEMP subgroup is Oceanic, comprising over 450 languages in coastal New Guinea and the insular Pacific (Blust 1995: 458). The Austronesian languages therefore have a geographical distribution that is relatively unbroken, except for the outliers in Madagascar and Southern Vietnam.

The existence of a language family that extends over much of tropical Asia was recognised by 1600 by the Dutch navigators who commented on the striking similarity of Malagasy to Malay. For the Austronesian languages, Hadrien Reland (1706) had noted resemblances between languages as far removed geographically as Malagasy, Malay and Futunian, using lists of words collected in 1616 in Futuna, a small island in western Polynesia, by the Dutch voyager Jacob Le Maire. In 1834, William Marsen extended the comparison to Polynesian languages as a whole, as far as Easter Island. In 1838, Wilhelm von Humboldt proposed 'Malayo-Polynesian' for the collection of languages in his work *Über die Kawi Sprache auf der Insel Java* (1836–9). In 1899 the Austrian linguist and ethnologist Wilhelm Schmidt suggested 'Austronesian' ('southern islands').

This language has already been the subject of a detailed study,[1] but we will provide a brief summary here. Ferrell (1969) compiled a vocabulary of the languages of Taiwan. He divided them into three groups: Atayalic, Tsouic and Paiwanic. The Atayalic group includes Atayal and Sediq; the Tsouic group includes Tsou, Kanabu and Saaroa; and the Paiwanic group is divided into two subgroups, of which Paiwanic I subsumes Rukai, Pazeh, Saisiat,

Table 1.1 Lexicostatistical correlations between the languages of Taiwan

At													
49.0	Se												
16.9	18.2	Ts											
16.2	17.8	39.7	Sr										
12.1	16.4	34.5	37.2	Kn									
12.7	13.8	18.7	16.9	18.8	Kv								
17.9	17.5	22.4	19.4	17.6	21.8	Pz							
15.9	19.5	23.7	20.0	22.4	19.4	28.3	Th						
15.7	16.1	21.9	20.7	20.7	19.5	21.8	34.8	Bu					
16.5	16.3	22.8	20.9	20.7	23.9	23.5	24.7	28.9	Am				
14.2	**14.8**	**19.5**	**19.5**	**19.4**	**21.0**	**26.3**	**25.2**	**21.6**	**29.9**	**Pu**			
17.1	19.9	20.6	20.5	22.7	22.8	24.3	25.2	25.0	30.2	**31.3**	Pa		
11.9	12.4	16.4	20.7	18.1	17.6	15.8	18.1	17.9	21.4	**29.0**	31.5	Ru	
10.3	10.2	17.5	14.8	14.9	14.2	25.2	25.3	16.8	17.9	**24.4**	31.3	16.2	Fv

At, Atayal; Se, Seediq; Ts, Tsou; Sr, Saaroa; Kn, Kanakanabu; Kv, Kavalan; Pz, Pazeh; Th, Thao; Bu, Bunun; Am, Amis; Pu, Puyuma; Pa, Paiwan; Ru, Rukai; Fv, Favorlang.

Source: Dyen (1971b: 174).

Thao, Paiwan and Puyuma, and Paiwanic II subsumes Bunun, Siraya, Amis, Kuvalan and Yami. For Ferrell this distinction is based on the fusion of the proto-Austronesian phonemes *t*C in the Paiwanic II subgroup. These two phonemes are likewise merged in the other Austronesian languages of the Pacific. Ferrell believes subgroup II to be closer to the languages of the other peoples of the Insulindian area than subgroup I.

The Puyuma language correlates with the Atayalic group at an average of 14 per cent, with the Tsouic group at one of 20 per cent and with the Paiwanic group at an average varying from 21 per cent for the Bunun language to 31.3 per cent for the Paiwan language. The two Amis languages and Rukai follow very closely, with averages of 29.9 and 29 per cent respectively. In the village of Puyuma, the young people under 30 years of age do not speak the language of their ancestors at all, their education having been entirely in the Chinese language. The generation between the ages of 30 and 60 speaks Puyuma and Chinese, whereas the very old speak Puyuma peppered with Japanese expressions.

Dyen (1971b: 174) drew up the table of lexicostatistical correlations between the various languages of Taiwan shown in Table 1.1.

Where certain conventional grammatical terms have been retained here, this does not mean that the Puyuma phenoma to which they refer necessarily correspond closely to those that are designated by them in the English language. Certain constructions that appear to be verbal constructions are in reality nominal constructions. The most common affixes are listed in Table 1.2. The possibilities of word formation through the addition of affixes are unlimited, and it was easy for me to generate words that surprised my hosts, because, while they might be grammatically correct, one seldom hears them used.

Table 1.2 Consonants

	Orders						
Series	*Bilabials*	*Dentals*	*Retroflexes*	*Alveopalatals*	*Palatals*	*Velars*	*Glottals*
Stop							
Voiceless	p	t	ʈ			k	ʔ
Voiced	b	d	ɖ			g	
Fricative		s		ʃ			
Voiced nasal	m	n				ŋ	
Voiced trill		r					
Lateral		l	ɭ				
Semi-vowel		w			y		

Phonology

Consonants

p/,/t/,/k/ are voiceless stops. /ɭ/ is a retroflex alveolar, but in some informants it sounds very much like the phoneme /l/ and in others it resembles more the phoneme /r/. Nevertheless, there are three distinct phonemes, as every informant points out the difference between them: 'tooth' /*wali*/, 'day' /*wari*/, 'time' /*waɭi*/.

The problem of /s/ and /ʃ/ is of only limited occurence, for we encounter it only in the case of the two vowels /i/ and /u/ (before or after). For example: 'to stink' /*aŋsis*/ [*aŋʃiʃ*], 'peanut' /*radis*/ [*radiʃ*], 'loin-cloth' /*pakusis*/ [*pakuʃiʃ*], 'to fool' /*mabusus*/ [*mabuʃuʃ*], 'breast' /*susu*/ [*ʃuʃu*]. In these contexts, we may be tempted to interpret it as a realisation of /s/. Nevertheless, the following examples show that this realisation is not systematic and that /s/ is attested as well in /*kuɖiʃ*/*radiʃ*/ and /*kesis*/*pakuʃiʃ*/. I therefore consider /ʃ/ as a phoneme. The seventeen consonants are to be found in initial, intervocalic and final positions and may be preceded and followed by any vowel i, u, a.

Vowels

/u/ /o/: [o] often appears as a variation of /u/. According to the informant, one may hear either [Katipol] or [Katipul], [taŋero] or [taŋeru], or in the final position, the diphtong /aw/ [ao]. In a very few words, such as the name /Labo/ or the plant 'ramie' /kerio/, one only hears [o].

Table 1.3 Vowels

	High front	*Central*	*High-mid back*
High	/i/		/u~o/
Middle		/ə/	
Low		/a/	

Very often, in a CCV structure, we find a non-phonemic [ə] inserted, namely CvCV; for example, 'strong' */arkeɖ/* [*arekeɖ*], 'to ventilate' */kurbabaɭi/* [*kurəbabaɭi*]. For the specific example of 'brothers' /marwadi/, I have heard from my informants the pronunciation [marewadi_mariwadi_maruwadi], with the addition of a non-phonemic [ə] [u] or [i]. In the vowel sequences [*ia*], [*ua*], [*ui*], [*ai*], each vowel is syllabic; for example, 'guava' */kuliabes/* [*kuli'abes*], 'habit' */kakuayanan/* [*kaku'ayanan*], 'to overflow' */muipaŋ/* [*mu'ipaŋ*], 'aged people' */maidaŋ/* [*ma'idaŋ*]. Nevertheless, when the second vowel of the sequence is a high vocoid, in rapid speech the sequence may realized as a diphthong, e.g. 'aged people' */maidaŋ/* [*ma'idaŋ_maidaŋ*], 'beautiful' */buɭai/* [*buɭa'i_buɭai*], 'east' */ɭauɖ/* [*ɭa'uɖ_ɭauɖ*]. In the VV structure, we find the insertion of a glottal stop, e.g. *saʾaɖ, buʾir*.

The glottal stop occurs in initial, intervocalic and final positions.

The stress is always on the last syllable, and has no phonological value. But vocalic length with expressive value is found in the penultimate syllable. This syllable may be very long in speech to indicate distance in time or space or for the sake of emphasis. Examples are 'yesterday' /adaman/, 'day before yesterday' /ada.man/, 'past' /ada....man/, 'here': /kadiu/, 'there' /kadi.u/, 'further away' /kadi.....u/.

Morphology

It is not possible, here, to list all the affixes (see Cauquelin 1991b, c). B is a predicate that is not inflected through the addition of an infix, a prefix or a suffix; such bases never appear in this uninflected form in conversation. They can be translated by either a verb or a nominal form.

Noun-forming affixes

B + /-an/, is a very frequently used affix, denoting:

duration: *ami-an* 'during the year', < *ami* 'year'
location in space: *i-enay-an* 'river bank', < *enai* 'water'
plural: *maidaŋ-an* 'old person', < *maidaŋ* 'old people'
generic: *baŋsar-an* 'class of marriageable men', < *baŋsar* 'virile'

/-in-/ + B denotes a thing resulting from a particular action:

d-in-awai 'human being', < *dawai* 'body'

/-in-/ + B + /-an indicates where something is (i.e. an action has taken place):

d-in-apal-an 'footprints', < *dapal* 'foot'
p-en-uar-an 'running away from places', < *puar* 'run away'

Following a labial consonant, the infix /-in-/ becomes /-en-/. I have never encountered any other allomorphs.

/ka-/ + B + /-an/ indicates the principle of, emphasis, the archetype:

ka-ruma?-an 'ancestor cult house', < *ruma* 'house'

/mar-/ [e],[u],[i] + B designating a relation between:

mar-kataguin 'spouses', < *kataguin* ('husband or wife')
mar-temama 'father and son', < *temama* 'father'

This affix is no longer 'active', and is limited to some examples.

/re-/ + reduplicated B + /-an/ denotes one who does frequently or habitually or has a lot of:

re-ʈakaʈakaw-an 'incurable thief', < *ʈakaw* 'to steal'
re-walawalak-an 'one who has many children', < *walak* 'child'

Verb-forming affixes

/are-/ + B + reduplication of B or of S^2 and S^3 means 'to have the odour of':

disyllabic: reduplication of B
are-ʈa?iʈa?i 'to smell of excrement', < *ʈa?i* 'excrements'
trisyllabic: reduplication S^2 and S^3
are-tomaku-maku 'to smell of tobacco', < *tomaku* 'tobacco'

/ki-/ + B means 'to get, to obtain':

ki-kuraw 'to fish', < *kuraw* 'fish'

/ki-/ + B means 'to do to oneself':

ki-beray 'to be given by', < *beray* 'to give'

/kar-/ + B designates 'two persons performing the same action':

kar-naʔu 'to look together', < *naʔu* 'to look at'

/kur-/ + B means 'to perform an action with':

kur-ʈaʔepa 'to sleep with', < *ʈaʔep* 'to lie down'

/pa + ka-/ + B is causative, meaning 'to bring something into the state of':

paka-kuaɭuŋ 'to make sick', < *ɭuŋ* 'epidemic'

This prefix is made up of two prefixes, the causative /pa-/ and the future /ka-/. An appropriate translation would be 'what will be done'.

These prefixes are used daily, except for /are-/, which the Puyuma always use in fun, e.g. *aretedɛktedɛk* < *tedɛk* 'buttock', and means 'to have a bad smell'.

Stative verb-forming affixes

/-al-/ + B means 'having the sound of . . .':

p-al-etik 'the sound of splashing water or of popping rice', < *petik* 'to splash, to pop'

When the initial consonant is /t/ in an onomatopoeic, it becomes /s/ in the new form, e.g.

s-al-teb 'the sound of a chopping knife on a wooden board' < *tebteb* 'wooden board'

/mara-/ + B + reduplication B means 'the most, the . . . est (within a group)':

mara-maʈina-maʈina 'the tallest', < *maʈina* 'tall'

/pukasa-/ + B: 'the most, . . . est'

pukasa-buɭai 'the most beautiful', < *buɭai* 'beautiful'

Reduplication also denotes 'a lot of . . .', 'a multiple of . . .':

kawi-kawi 'a lot of wood', < *kawi* 'wood'

Adverb-forming affixes

/a-/ denotes a past time: *a-kaɭaʔub* 'yesterday evening', < *kaɭaʔub* 'evening'
/an-/ denotes a future time: *an-ʔasua* 'when in the future', < *asua* 'when'
/i-/ denotes location: 'at' *i-sabak* 'inside of', < *sabak* 'inside'

Syntax

Different 'focus' of verbs

In Puyuma, the verbal predicate must focus on the actor (AF: actor focus), the direct object (OF: object focus), the location or the person who benefits from the action or part of the object (RF: referent focus) or the instrument with which the action is performed or a third participant (an assistant) (IF: instrument focus). The object focus and referent focus may have very similar meanings, sometimes even the same meaning, but the RF is usually less emphatic, while the OF is used more frequently. The OF occurs in the past tense or in the imperative mode.

The OF form could be translated with a passive, due to the fact that the English passive is in some ways similar, in that it stresses the object of the action, e.g. 'the ox has been washed by me'. However, European languages lack forms corresponding to the RF and IF forms. The OF form could be translated as 'it is the ox that I have washed', the RF as 'it is with hot water that I have washed the ox' and the IF as 'it is with water for washing that I have washed the ox' (as opposed to water for drinking or something else).

Focus may be summarized as follows.

actor focus: verb – subject – (complement)
object, referent, instrument focus: agent – verb – (subject) – (complement)

An example with B *dirus*, 'to wash', is:

AF: *d-em-irus ku*, I wash
OF: *ku dirus-aw na guŋ*, the thing washed is the ox
RF: *ku dirus-ai na ənai na bias*, the washing is hot water
IF: *ku dirus-anai na ənai kan Aliwaki*, the washing of Aliwaki is water

Where the agent is indicated by a pronoun (*ku* or *ki* or *ti – nu – tu – niam – ta – mu – tu*) and is a person who has to be specified, we have the agentive form tu + B + complement kan + name or ordinary noun, e.g. B *saɭem* 'to plant':

RF: *tu saɭemai (na uma) ɖa buŋa kan Aliwaki*
he/ plant/ (the field)/ any/ sweet potatoes/ the / Aliwaki

Table 1.4 Marks of aspects and modes with the different kinds of focus

Focus	*AF* /*M/ or ø*	*OF* /*-aw/*	*RF* /*-ai/*	*IF* /*-anai/*
Perfect ø	/M/ or ø	/-aw/	/-ai/	/-anai/
Imperfect R	/M/+R or R	R/-aw/	/-ai/	R/-anai/
Future R	R	R/-i/	R/-i/	R/-an/
Imperative ø	ø	/-u/	/-i/	/-an/
Hortative future /-a/	/M/+/-a/	–	–	–
Negative past	/i/	/-i/	/-an/	–

(The focus is on the field, which is implicit *na uma*). This can be rendered by the nominal form 'the Aliwaki's plantation'.

I summarize the different focus marks. As AF can be expressed in different ways, I use the symbol /M/, as follows:

- AF marks: /M/ or ø (ø, no mark), where /M/ stands for (/-em-/, /-en-/ (after labials), /me-/ or /meʔ-/, /ma-/),
- OF marks: -aw
- RF marks: -ai
- IF marks: -anai

Aspects and modes

There are three verbal aspects – perfect, imperfect, future – and two modes – imperative, and hortative future.

- perfect: ø (no mark)
- imperfect: R (reduplication); R of the first syllable (not systematic); /-a-/
- future: R, sometimes only /-a-/
- hortative future: /-a-/
- imperative mode: ø

The past negation resembles a question: isn't it? *adi tu brayi yu?*

The paradigm of the verb *dirus*, 'to wash', in the seven modes and aspects with the first person singular pronoun is shown in Table 1.5.

Ethnonym

'Puyuma' has several meanings. It designates a unit composed of two groups related by language but with a hostile relationship – Katipul and Puyuma. The first group was 'born of a stone', the second 'born of the bamboo'. Both groups claim the same ancestral place, called, respectively, Revoaʔan and

Table 1.5 Paradigm of *dirus*

	AF	*OF*	*RF*	*IF*
Imperative	*dirus*	*dirusu*	*dirusi*	*dirusan*
Perfect	*demirus ku*	*ku dirusaw*	*ku dirusai*	*ku dirusanai*
Negative	*adi ku demirus*	*adi ku dirusi*	*adi ku dirusi*	*adi ku dirusan*
Hortative future	*demirusa ku*			
Imperfect	*demadirus ku*	*ku dadirusaw*	*ku dadirusai*	*ku dadirusanai*
Future	*dadirus ku*	*ku dadirusi*	*ku dadirusi*	*ku dadirusan*
Nominal	*dinirusan*			

Nirbuaʔan. In 1995 the census counted 6,668 Puyuma, 5,418 in the Katipul group and 1,250 in the Puyuma group.

In the most accurate sense, 'Puyuma' designates the group 'born of the bamboo', which includes the village that has always been located near present-day Peinan (Pilam or Pinan) and its territory, the inhabitants and their language. The other villages, following the example of Puyuma, claim the name of their territory: Katipul, Ulibulibuk etc. From time to time, the Puyuma use the Taiwanese word *huana*,[2] literally 'savage-barbarian'. The Japanese nicknamed them *ban jin*, 'wild barbarians', an expression that the Puyuma translated by 'head-hunters'. The Japanese administration imposed the expression *hasshaban*, 'natives of eight villages', and in 1935 Utsurikawa proposed the collective term of Panapanayan, 'to go out'. The Puyuma know these names but never use them. Only their name, Puyuma, remains.

The village of Pinaski is two kilometres north of Puyuma. The inhabitants of Pinaski and Nanwang have always maintained close relations. The satellite village of Apapolo was founded at the beginning of the century by Puyuma families who refused to take part in forced labour imposed by the Japanese, and the exodus continued in 1929 when the village of Peinan

Table 1.6 Distribution of Puyuma villages

Mythical origin	*Groups*	*Villages' names in Puyuma*	*Villages' names in Chinese*
'Born of the bamboo'	Puyuma	Puyuma	Nanwang
		Apapolo	Paosang
'Born of a stone'	Katipul	Alipai	Pinglang
		Pinaski	Hsia pinglang
		Bankiu	Pankiu
		Kasabakan	Chienhe
		Katipul	Chihpen
		Rikabung	Lichia
		Tamalakaw	Taian
		Ulibulibuk	Chulu

moved to Nanwang. Gradually, the Puyuma settled in this area of Taitung, and although they are Paosang for the administration, they are still greatly attached to Puyuma.

Relations with other groups

Mythical approach

The Puyuma do not take into account all the components of a world established from initial chaos. The tales are neither a cosmogony nor a genesis, but tell the story of a ready-established world derived from a creative principle, which contains the history of man.

Here is a passage from Puyuma mythology:

> Long ago, Nunur, borne by the waves, was washed up on the coast where there was an *arenui*, that is the story. He clung on to it, and, using all his strength, climbed up on to the beach. He used that *arenui* as a walking stick and then planted it. It grew into a bamboo and then it burst. A woman, Pagemuser, and a man, Pakmalai, came out of it. This brother and sister got married. There were three of them, the father and the two children. 'I'm going to look for our village', said the old man. He went back and forth, but lost his way. This is when the brother and sister slept together. A deformed being, half-man, half-stone, was born. They went to look for the old man and called him: 'elder, elder'. They wandered along all the paths. 'Oi', said the elder when he saw this half-stone, half-human creature. Then the elder said, 'You cannot abandon your child like this, but you must take him into your house'. Thus spake the elder, who immediately changed into a stone. It is that mountain over there.[3] That is why, when we call, he returns the echo. This echo speaks. They took the stone, and it broke. Out of it came the Amis, the Paiwan, and all the others. The Manuʔan[4] went into the mountains. We, the Puyuma and the Amis, stayed on the plains.
>
> The brother and sister sprang from this stick that their father, Nunur the ancestor, planted. This brother and sister married and had children. We do not know the number of their children. That was how people married in ancient times. In fact, they gave birth to six children, there was Paɖuŋaw,[5] Raurawi,[6] and Kaɭikaɭi.[7] Armed with bows, they looked for their village. They shot arrows that made no sound. They roamed the paths, accompanied by the Amis, the Laɭanes;[8] many people followed them. They shot arrows, and more arrows. At last, they arrived here, and shot an arrow – it went 'srin'. Then the eldest, Paɖuŋaw, stayed up there. Raurawi continued on his way, went down, shot an arrow, and it went 'srin'. That is

> how the younger brother, Raurawi, stayed here in the village and Paɖuŋaw lived down there in Papaturan.

This myth of origin is different from the one collected by Father Schröder in Katipul, where the people claim to be 'born of a stone' (see Appendix 1).

These words illustrate the relations with other Puyuma villages and the Amis neighbours. The Amis and Puyuma languages possess 30 per cent cognates. Yet relations were difficult from the start. Although the Amis accompanied the two brothers born of the incestuous couple in their search for a village, cohabitation was impossible if we are to believe the legend of the distribution of land in the Taitung plain. Amis legends are inexhaustible on the subject of relations between the two groups (see Appendix 2).

Here is an account given by the Puyuma:

> In the past, the Papian[9] were born here with us. He [the ancestor] planted his walking stick, which grew, and the Puyuma came out of it. We went hunting together, and captured a stag, which we shared. The Papian chose the animal's heart, and we chose the lungs. But the Papian said: 'The heart is small, it is not a fair share.' So we exchanged. Then, together, we decided to cook the two pieces of meat. It was decided that the piece that sank to the bottom of the cooking pot would designate the people who would occupy the hunting grounds here. Then we put the two pieces of meat into the water, and the heart, which was heavier, sank, and the lungs floated. That is how we inherited these lands.

But the Laɭanes continued to live on the Taitung plain according to an extract from their myth of origin:

> Kaɭikaɭi was a girl. This girl did not get married. She went down to Sanusanum.[10] It is said that a great wind blew, a wind to make you shiver. This Kaɭikaɭi became pregnant. When she was pregnant, she lived in Papaturan, east of the Laɭanes. When she was pregnant, she stayed in her house, and ordinary people came to visit her. She did not go out, maybe there was water in the house. She stayed inside. Then the Papian, as it is said, the Laɭanes, thought that Kaɭikaɭi was perhaps not in her house, and threw their rubbish there. Thus it was that she gave birth in her house. On the hottest days, when she went to the fields, this Kaɭikaɭi did not wear a hat. A man noticed that she used it to cover her basket. Maybe her child was in it. The man went to see, and in secret lifted the cover. That was the reason why she did not wear a hat. 'She protects her daughter with it,' said the man. And her child, Dadeŋraw [toothed vulva] grew up. She liked the Amis, the Laɭanes. When the Laɭanes organised a

feast, if she joined in the dancing, it is said that she did not curtsey. Her clothes were ugly, but her underclothes were very pretty; she put on ugly old clothes to go and dance with them. 'Why does this person come to dance dressed in rags?' wondered the Laɭanes. One day, the wind blew and lifted up her skirt. 'Her underclothes are very pretty,' said the Laɭanes. 'She is a very pretty girl.' The Laɭanes chief's son married her. And one night, when they came together to make love, his penis was cut off. 'Have you got a toothed vagina?' She married a second husband, but his penis got cut off too. 'Ua! What a shame!' said the people. Her mother went to pick the *iteŋ* herb.[11] They took her to the north, to the river bank, and shut her up in a *taleb*.[12] They put the *iteŋ* herb and put it into the *taleb*, which was carried by the waters, down to Alapaw. Nowadays, the river north of the Maidaŋ mountain is known as Alapaw. It was carried down to Alapaw, and was driven out to sea. The wind blowing from the north carried the boat southwards. The story says that the people of Tipul were going hunting. 'Children! What is that shining over there in the sea? It may be a boat that is not moving; let's go!' said the chief, so they went. They had to cross the water, so he sent them. With the help of a post, they lifted the boat up on to the beach. '*Kro*', squeaked the *taleb* as they dragged it over the sand, so we invented the word *kro*. *Senten* was the noise of the *taleb* when it fell on to the sand, so we adopted the word *senten*.[13] The *taleb* traced lines on the sand, so it gave us the word *ʈuɭiʈuɭi*.[14]

They opened up the *taleb.* 'It's the most beautiful girl of the Puyuma!' they exclaimed. They let her out, and filed and filed at the teeth of her vagina. They tried out the new vagina on a bamboo, but it came out cut in half, or so the story goes. So they started filing again. A dog penetrated her, and came out scratched but not wounded, so they went on filing. Finally, servants tried the toothless vagina, and the test was good. Then the knife went '*ŋa*'. It serves adulterers right. That is what the legend tells us. The chief of the Tipul married her. Sigasigaw was the name of this chief. He married her. The couple gave birth to Aʔunayan, Aʔibuʔan and Rasiras, that is how it was.

The next part of the story tells us how, after their mother's death, the three children returned to the Puyuma village to live with their maternal grandmother:

The youngest sister went out to the fields to do the washing. When they got home, the brothers were worried about their sister, and asked their grandmother 'Where is our sister?' 'She has gone to do the washing and is late.' So the two brothers went to Berebe. There

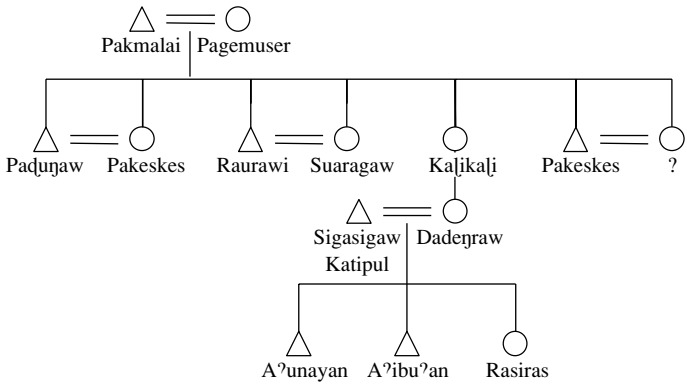


Figure 1.1 Descendants of the couple 'born of the bamboo'

they found the washing spread out in the sun. They saw the trail of a snake hiding under a rock, and waited for the reptile to crawl out so they could kill it. After three attempts, the elder brother, fearful by nature, tried in vain to strike the creature. The younger brother took charge. As soon as the blade of his sword struck home, they heard the jangle of their sister's bracelet.[15] This unwitting fratricide banned them from the village, and the grandmother did not allow the animal's head to enter the house while the two young boys stole sugar from the Laḷanes. The latter sprinkled ash on the ground, but the tracks were not those of an animal, but of a human. They captured the younger brother, shut him up, and fed him on worms, centipedes etc. The elder made a kite, and after several test flights, the younger managed to cling on to it. The dumbfounded Laḷanes cried out that this must be a spirit, not a man. As he was borne through the air, the younger brother dropped a sickle which cut open the belly of a woman pregnant with twins, and all three, the mother and the two children, died. He landed in Paḍelia[16] and vomited the filth that he had swallowed. Then in Bulabulak, the two brothers built a house on pillars, the boys' house, *takuban*[17] . . . 'We are going to plunge these Laḷanes into darkness, by causing an earthquake,' said the two brothers. They went to their grandmother's and advised her to protect her house when she heard a loud noise coming from the east. The children left, and the old woman went for a walk among the Laḷanes. Suddenly, a rumbling was heard in the east; the old woman had not paid attention to her grandsons' words. She rolled in a mortar back to her house and protected it. The Laḷanes and their houses were reduced to rubble,

> but the Puyuma were spared by the earthquake. The eldest felt defiled by so much wickedness, and decided to go and live in the village. So, the three of them settled in the west, in Kinuʈuḷ.

According to these accounts (see also Appendix 3), relations between the Amis and the Puyuma are a source of conflict, and between the two Puyuma groups, Katipul and Puyuma, they are non-existent. Links were forged, thanks to the marriage between Dadeŋraw (toothed vulva) and the chief of the Katipul, Sigasigaw. The children born of this union came back to Puyuma and built the first boys' house. But relations degenerated. Taylor (1885–6: 195) and Puyuma stories tell us that the two villages were in contact when the Katipul chief – Takitok according to Taylor or Karitag for the Puyuma – reigned over the southern part of the island. The author devotes a chapter to the Tipuns, i.e. the inhabitants of the village of Katipul, 'the people of Tipul'. He writes (p. 196):

> The chiefs of the Tipuns and their families are tatooed, principally around the wrists, and on the back of the hands and fingers. The pattern resembles lace work, the colours being red and blue. To be tatooed is a mark of gentle blood, as the practice is strictly prohibited to the commonalty. When a man marries, he becomes part of his wife's family, thus reversing the rule which prevails among the Paiwans. The dead are buried inside their houses . . . They cluster in stockaded villages, each under a chief, and have one rather large city where the supreme ruler, whose hereditary name is Takitok, resides . . . They keep account of age . . . Like the Paiwans, they drink arrack, smoke tobacco, and chew betel-nut. The finger nails are coloured red with the juice of a flower and the teeth are kept black by chewing a species of vine . . . They are still headhunters although the custom has fallen greatly in disuse.

Here is the Puyumas' account of this personage, Takitok or Karitag:

> In ancient times, the chief of the Tipul was more important than ours. Formerly, our *miabubtan* ('those who wear the *bubtan*') had to go. 'Go and pay tribute,' we would say to these *miabubtan*. They went to pay tribute like taxes. But they went to the place called Kalaʔusan to present sticky rice cakes and returned to the village. So, it is thus. Then, those of Tipul come to seek a quarrel with us: 'Why did you forget to pay your tribute lately?' they asked. 'Every year, the *miabubtan* are ordered to go,' we replied. 'So, it has not reached us.' We questioned the *miabubtan* who confessed 'We

ate them in Kalaʔusan; we did not go as far as the frontier!' These were the words that we heard. 'So, we are going to kill each other,' said the Tipul, and we killed each other. That is how it was. At that time, their chief was called Karitag. Karitag was the name of the Tipul chief. 'You often set the mountain on fire, over there in Kemiḍaenai, to capture game, and you never give us our share,' said the Tipul. We, the Puyuma, were very fierce. 'When the Tipul come to make trouble for us we will stop them', decided the Elders. And the *miabubtan* were ordered to cut bamboos and lay them on the path used by the Tipul to run away. Finally we, the Puyuma, were ready. The Tipul could come to demand their share and seek a quarrel with the Puyuma. Indeed, they came, and fled. In their flight they went where the bamboos of different lengths were laid. They slid and slid, here and there, and we captured them and cut them to pieces. Their chief Karitag – that is his name – was also captured by the Puyuma, and his body was slashed. His flesh was cut into pieces and he was made to swallow and swallow it 'here is your share', we cried. His breasts were cut off and he was made to eat them. He died. We, the Puyuma, we had him in our hands. This Karitag was big and strong, so it was an ancestor of the Dalialep who dragged his big, lifeless body. Only this ancient could drag him, so this Dalialep was given a field, there in Kuʈuḷ. This is the story we tell.

In 1966, Valikai, Father Schröder's female informant in Katipul, also said that, formerly, people from Katipul, exasperated by the ceaseless humiliations of the Puyuma, left their village. Valikai's version mentions the fugitives Karimazao, Padaʔol and Tartar as future chiefs (see Appendix 4); Taylor (1885–6: 122) gives a variant, and speaks of 'young chiefs' (see Appendix 5). Utsurikawa (1935) mentions some *Panapanayan* in the extreme south of the island at Longkiao, Savoari and Colasoaq. Two of the emigrants may have settled with the Paiwan, where Taylor lived. According to Mabuchi (1954: 23), in a period situated between the migrations of the Paiwan to the south-eastern regions and the arrival of the Dutch, Puyuma may have established colonies in the south-east of the island, and exercised power over the Paiwan. Many Paiwan chiefs' families could thus be the direct descendants or relations of these Puyuma.

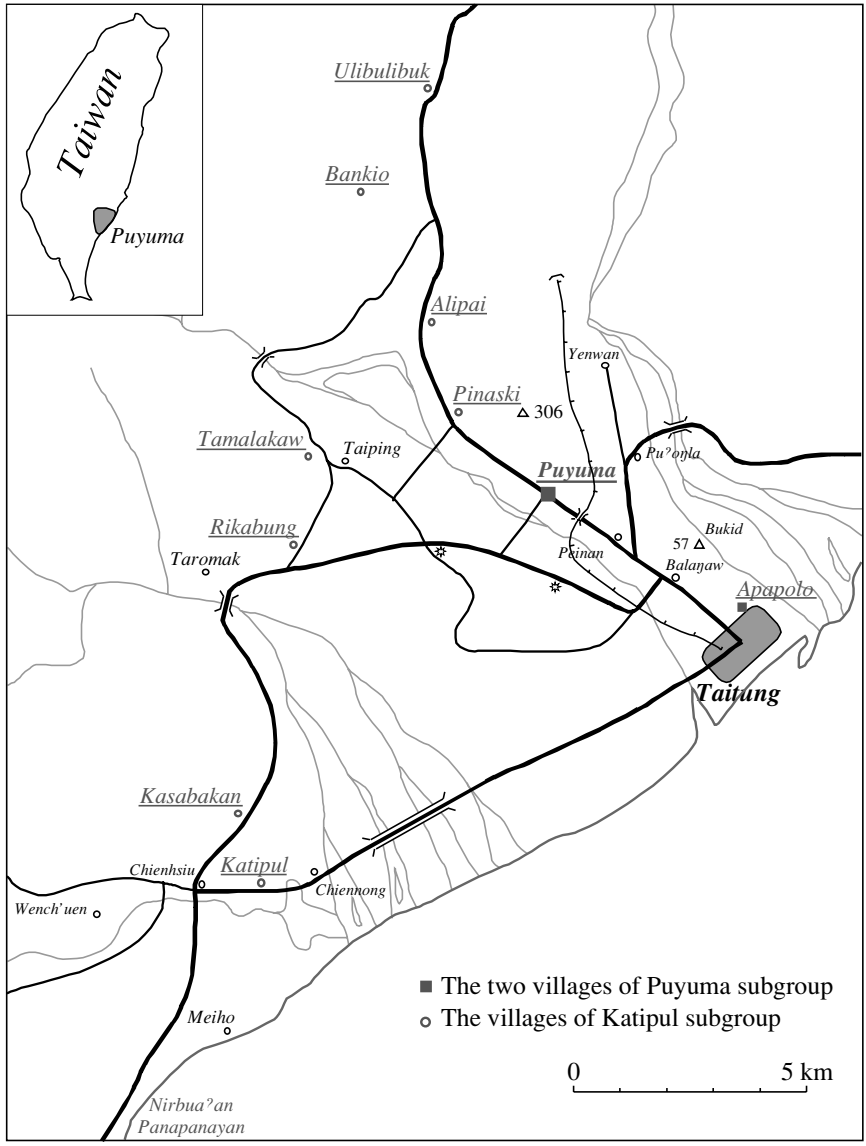
With the exception of this handful of emigrants settled in the farthest tip of the island, the Puyuma still occupy the same region, that of their place of origin, Nirbuaʔan, by the sea south of Taitung. Taylor (1885–6: 196) observes: 'They may be called a semi-civilized people, and appear to have been so on their first arrival in Formosa, remaining homogeneous under all circumstances, while the other tribes are continually splitting and changing.'

Historical approach

The Puyuma were hostile towards their neighbours, and allocated themselves the best hunting grounds, forcing the Amis to the north, into the inhospitable Taitung rift, the narrow spit of land situated between the high central peaks and the steep east coast. Leaving aside the mythological and legendary accounts and concentrating on history, Imperial Court hagiographers inform us that, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a certain Pinadai, a man of the Raera household, settled in the village of Fangliao, located in the Kaohsiung and Chaoshan region. He maintained good relations with the Chinese and returned to the village with new objects unknown to the Puyuma: the plough, the grindstone, the lidless wooden bucket and the covered bucket with a spout. These new techniques improved everyday life, but the ox-drawn ploughs could not cross the village gates and remained outside with the draught animals. Widening the entrances did not solve the problem of storing them inside the stockades.

In the sixtieth year of emperor Kanghsi's reign in the Ch'ing Manchu dynasty (1722), troubles fomented by Su Yi-kuei flared up, and two of the instigators of these revolts, Wang Chong and Hsiang Chin-yi, took refuge in Taitung. The Emperor requested the help of Pinadai to capture these two outlaws. Immediately, Pinadai, whose reputation had already crossed the Puyuma boundaries, ordered each chief of the seventy-two surrounding aboriginal villages to catch the two fugitives. After their capture, the Emperor, very satisfied with Pinadai's help, accorded him the title of 'great king of Peinan', and gave him the attributes of this rank: clothes, hats and shoes. The court also named him governor of the region extending from Sui Wei to Takang, i.e. from south of Hualien to Balangaw, in the suburbs of Taitung, and invested him with the power of levying taxes on all the peoples of the east coast: Amis, Paiwan and Rukai.

Regarding relations with the Paiwan, we can distinguish two different periods of Puyuma hegemony over this people: the first narrated in the stories of Valikai and Taylor, and also mentioned by Mabuchi; and the second, later, period of Pinadai the 'king of Peinan'. In Ferrell's (1977: 92) Paiwan dictionary we find the word '*kaderunan:* tribute gifts formerly given to Puyuma chiefs yearly – k/m/aderunan: to take tribute to Puyuma chiefs'; and this term is also found among the Puyuma: *Kadununan.* Each year, at harvest time, the populations subject to the 'great king of Peinan' had to pay their tribute in rice, wine and pork. When the 'great king of Peinan' travelled in person to a region, all the inhabitants had to give him the best wines and the tastiest dishes. Each village was governed by a chief, a vassal of the 'great King of Peinan'. Gradually, the villages were obliged to pay all the expenses of the extraordinary ceremonies performed in the family of the 'great king of Peinan'. This is an example of the Imperial Court of China's policy of 'governing barbarians by barbarians' and extortions similar



Map 1.1 The ten Puyuma villages

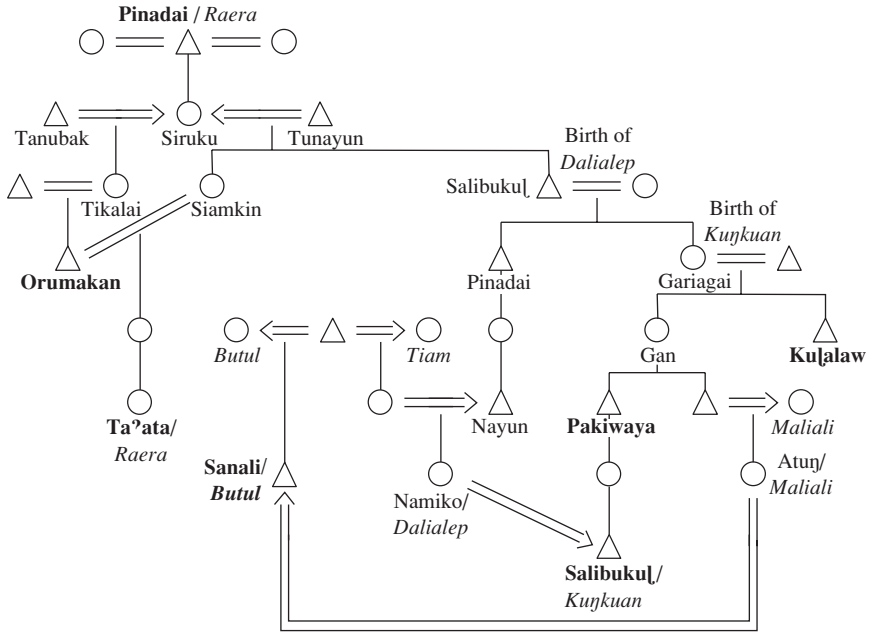


Figure 1.2 Descendants of chiefs from the Raera household since Pinadai

to those demanded by the 'native chiefs', *tu si*, from the populations of south China.[18]

An analysis of the consequences of this nomination is given in Figure 1.2, but, according to the Puyuma, a great many village chiefs have been elected from the Raera household since this period.

Demographic summary

According to Table 1.7 the largest village is Puyuma, with a small handful of the population moving to the neighbouring Chinese villages, probably after mixed marriages; three families remained in Peinan after the village was moved in 1929. The villages of Chienye, Chiennong, and Chienhsiu are adjacent to Katipul. Twelve families live in the Chinese town of Taiping next to Tamalakaw.

Table 1.7 Puyuma living in the Taitung district in 1984

	Population				*Occupation (1985)*							
Villages	*Households*	*1985*	*1995*	*Men*	*Women*	*Peasants*	*Shopkeepers*	*Workers*	*Civil servants*	*Services*	*Others*	*Exiled*
Taitung												
Minch'uan	4	30		15	15	1	2	1	7	3	11	
Minsheng	10	34		20	14					7	5	
Nanwang Puyuma	275	1,335	1250	725	610	290	5	11	40	96	230	135
Apapolo	18	140		73	67	30		27		13	10	3
Peinan	3	19	30	14	5	2	1		7	2		
Wenhua	2	4	13	2	2				2		1	
Yenwan	4	23	18	8	15	3			3		7	
Katipul												
Chienhe	157	782	586	413	369	214	5	105	6	21	150	20
Chienhsiu	4	30	26	15	15	3			1	2	10	
Chiennong	24	180	123	96	84	25		15		29		
Chienye	141	730	627	390	340	152	2	14	3	37	20	18
Chihpen Katipul	65	350	303	198	152	145		4	6	45	20	19
Chulu	104	474	400	252	222	267	9	10		22		
Lichia	168	778	645	439	339	164	6	1		33		
Panchiu	11	46		21	25		1					
Pinglang	126	618	492	335	283	468	31		4	35		
Taiping	12	70	188	27	43	35				4		
Taian	115	524	424	261	263	140	2	2				
Wench'uan	6	42	18	18	24	9				2		
Total	1,249	6,209	5,143	3,322	2,887	1,948	64	190	79	351	464	195

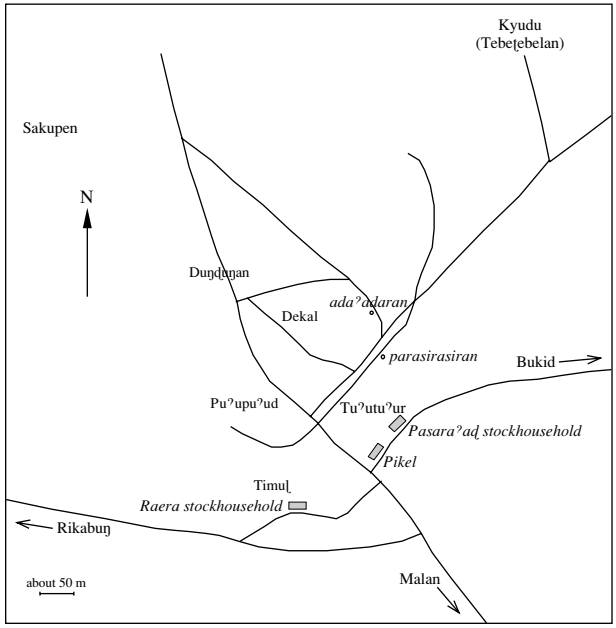
2

THE VILLAGE

Geographical location of the Puyuma village

Different sites of the village

The move of the village, *Dekal*, from its historic site of Duŋɖuŋan/Maidatar to Peinan probably took place between 1870 and 1880. A serious epidemic, probably smallpox, drove the inhabitants up into the mountains. When they returned, the village lost its closed structure and was rebuilt in Peinan in three areas: Tuʔutuʔur, Puʔupuʔup and Tatimuɬ. The Paiwan accused the Japanese of bringing smallpox with them during the military expedition of 1874. Taylor (1885–6: 125) writes: 'Among the Paiwans skin diseases are rare, and, until smallpox was lately introduced, for which they blame the Japanese, there were no special or deadly illnesses known . . . The Paiwans have suffered severely from smallpox, which at one time broke out regularly once a year, and the people tried to save themselves by flying to the mountains.' When they returned from the mountains, the Puyuma regrouped in the three areas of present-day Peinan, thus effacing the dual structure of the village, but the community remained closed to outside influence. Between 1925 and 1934 the Japanese administration decided to transfer all the aboriginal villages so as to weaken local populations, and they drew up the same structure in a chequerboard pattern. In 1929 the Puyuma of Peinan were moved to Sakupen, i.e. Nanwang for the Taiwanese administration. The perpendicular streets enclose plots of 1,000 m^2 for one household, but today there are no more plots this size with only one house on them; nearly all the plots were split between brothers and sisters during successive divisions (see Maps 2.2 and 2.3). The Puyuma say today that the emperor of Japan allocated this land to them to thank them for their collaboration. It is true that the Puyuma provided no resistance to the occupying forces, and even gave valuable help in eliminating certain pockets of resistance. At the beginning of the century, chief Taʔata, a woman of the Raera household, helped the Japanese to fight Bunun resistance in Basikaw.[1] But the Puyuma, according to their own accounts, only took part in the expedition as interpreters, and



Map 2.1 Successive sites of the village

not soldiers. About fifty Puyuma probably helped crush Pingpu rebels in the villages of Wushe[2] in 1930, in Nantun district near Taichung. Finally, the highly reputed chief of the Raera, Kuḷalaw (see Figure 1.2), allowed the Japanese to levy taxes in his name. Cohabitation with the Chinese was far from idyllic in the new tripartite structure of Peinan. The Japanese administration also, as a gesture of thanks, gratified the Puyuma's wish, and built a new village forbidden to outsiders.

The village's four moves are part of an oral tradition:

1 *Nirbuaʾan*[3] (place of birth)
2 *Duŋḍuŋan*/*Maidatar*[4]
3 *dekal*[5]/village-group
4 Peinan, *c*. 1880, three areas
5 Sakupen (Nanwang).

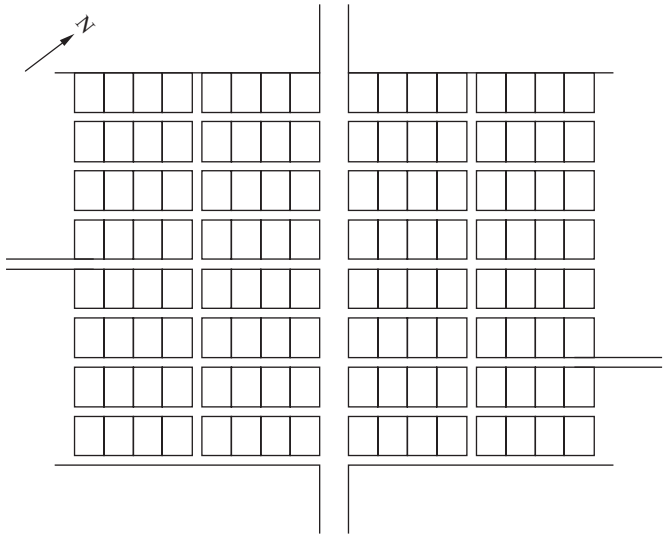
The present-day site

The Puyuma village is in a periurban position five kilometres from the sea and from Taitung. The administration cut this village in half by building the main road between Taitung and Hualien, thus respecting a basic tenet of social organisation: structure in moieties, the upper, *ami*, and the lower,

timuḷ. Although there is a continuous built-up area between Taitung and Puyuma, the latter is none the less a village.

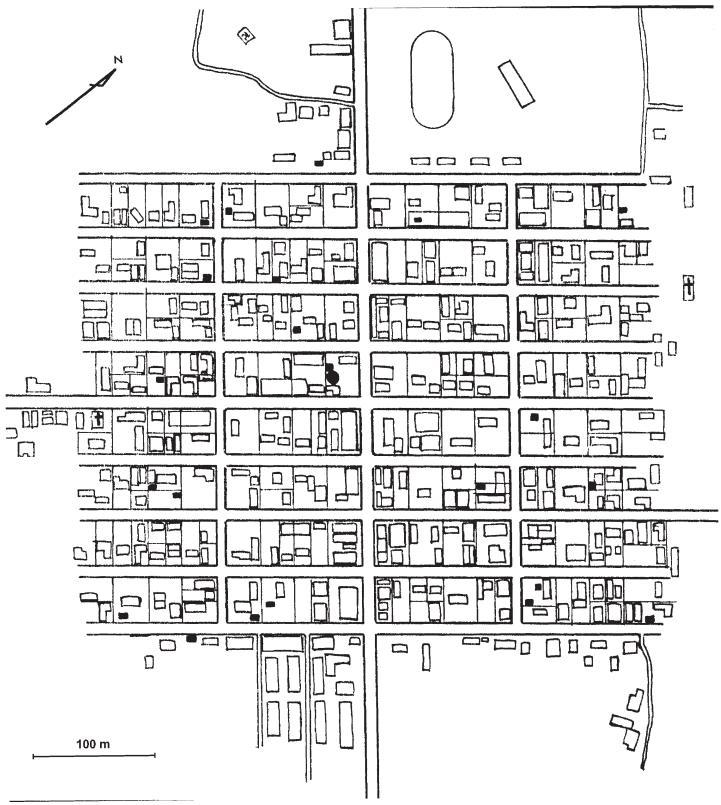
If we leave the main road for the alleyways, the din of badly tuned car engines gives way to the familiar sounds of a village: human voices, clucking hens, barking dogs. The village, away from the noisy main road, is very pleasant. Its one-storey buildings with flower-filled courtyards, areca palms planted along the side streets and in the gardens, make a peaceful scene. Concrete drains dispose of waste water, except for toilets with septic tanks. Unfortunately, in the past few years, the landscape has changed, since the Puyuma own land, and the Taiwanese need it. They are demolishing the one-storey houses and building concrete blocks, entirely at their own expense. At times, their greed does not stop at one block per family, but the new building covers the entire surface of the former courtyard. Several blocks – four or even six – are built either for sale or for rent. Profits from the operation are shared. The Puyuma end up prisoners of their own four concrete walls, and are left with nowhere to go in the evening to dream and sing, except the street.

From the lower moiety of the village, the road goes towards the other Puyuma villages, Rikabung and Katipul, and from the upper moiety there used to be a path ending in the hamlets of Tarababu?an and Papaturan. Since the beginning of the 1980s, when the new railway station was built at the junction between the east and the west coasts, this village lane has now become a very busy road.



Map 2.2 Nanwang in 1929

The road from Taitung to Nanwang crosses the Peinan canal, which supplies the flooded paddy fields. North of this canal, between Peinan and Nanwang, the fields are full of corn and sugar cane. To the south-west, sugar cane and betel are grown along the road to Rikabung. This road crosses the Taiping river, which is dry most of the year, but its flood waters are formidable and patches of pineapples and especially millet, essential for rituals, are sometimes found. During the dry season, the huge bridge spanning the river seems useless. The Puyuma throw their rubbish from this bridge, and from time to time, a drunk falls on to the dry river bed. To the north-east, the Peinan river runs in its gravel bed in the Tungtai rift about 2 km from the village. Unfortunately, the river bed is not stabilised, and the surrounding land is unsuitable for cultivation. Peinan mountain, 410 m high, dominates the village to the north, and on its slopes grow orchards of custard apples, papayas, pineapples and bamboo. At the foot of this mountain, the main road runs through the Puyuma villages of Pinaski and Ulibulibuk, and marks the transition between the plain and the mountains.



Map 2.3 Nanwang in 1984

Apart from two big factories – a paper pulp factory on the road to Rikabung and the Taitung sugar refinery – local industry is represented by a multitude of small family workshops, which can be found all over the island. There are some in the village – mother of pearl polishing, wire winding, mechanical workshops, farm machinery repairs – but none of these small businesses employs more than three people recruited from the family.

The climate of the Taitung plain is a humid tropical one, punctuated by the monsoons. Puyuma is at an altitude of no more than 12 m; mean temperatures are 18 °C in January and 28 °C in July, with extreme temperatures varying between 7 and 40 °C. The rainy season lasts from May to October, during which period there are 1,300 mm of rainfall. This region is subject to earthquakes and typhoons, giving rise to floods.

The land on which the new village of Sakupen was built in 1929 belonged to private individuals, or to the government, or to the town of Peinan. The Japanese administration undertook to regularise the situation, and to provide each new occupant with a title deed. The Japanese teachers to whom this task was entrusted collected the money from households, but according to the Puyuma, these functionaries embezzled the money, and built their own houses inside the school compound. Conflicts erupted between the administration and the teachers, then war broke out and the problem was suspended. Families occupied land that was the certified property of other individuals. With the return of peace some people bought their land from the title holders, and others demanded their property; for example, the Tabeleŋan used legal proceedings to recover their land used as a vegetable garden by the doyenne of the shamans, where her father had planted areca palms and she had built her shrine. The Tabeleŋan cut down the trees, but could not destroy the shrine. This assertion of rights followed the expulsion of the Tabeleŋan by the Kagi. Houses built on public or government land pay a yearly tax.

The ancestral spirit

In 1958, the Puyuma decided to set up in the village 'the spirit of the ancestral place Nirbuaʔan'. The date is not surprising, since the government had been applying its 'Hanism' project to the aborigines for more than five years. In 1953, Minimasan, deputy mayor of the Raera household, had demolished one of the boys' houses. At a great ceremony, a delegation ran to Nirbuaʔan, the ancestral place, located about 20 km south of Taitung. The group brought back a sheaf of bamboo, 'the spirit of Nirbuaʔan'. These bamboos were replanted, according to the bamboo diviner's instructions, in a field on the slope of the mountain belonging to the Dalisin household. To celebrate this rite, the musician Baliwakus of the Kaḍaḍepan composed a song:

Here is the song dedicated to our ancestral place.
Down there in the south is Nirbuaʔan
Which time has erased from our memory.
We go to seek our spirit
to bring it back
on our yokes.
'Srin srin' ring our bells
when we run.
Here it is, it has arrived in our village.
It is planted by our Elders.
Offerings decorate its altar.

The 'spirit of Nirbuaʔan' grew on the mountainside, but one summer day, when the field's owner, a Catholic, was resting in the shade of the bamboos, he noticed a snake curled up not far away, and killed it. The villagers then decided to cut down the bamboos, since it is a bad omen to kill a snake. The spirit no longer exists, but the song is still sung.

Residence

Social organisation is based on houses stemming from the division of the six 'founding households', *samawan*.[6] The *samawan* is an 'unrestricted ritual group', for it includes all the founder's descendants, whether through males or females. This group has split into *sayamunan* and *sarumaŋan*.[7]

The residence pattern is bilocal, and the line of descent sometimes goes through men and sometimes through women. But at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was predominantly uxorilocal. There does not appear to have been any pressure from either side regarding the choice of the place of residence, but the decision to let the daughter 'move in', *musabak*,[8] with her husband was taken if he was an only son, or from a richer household, or from the necessity of obtaining a woman to look after the house, as in the case of Aliwaki below. In any case, it was important that the couple should not be two eldest children.

Sarumaŋan corresponds to the minimum basic household, whose members collectively occupy a single large dwelling. Each is associated with a tract of land. When I visited the old village, my informant clearly pointed out: 'Here was the place where the house of the *Pasaraʔaq*[9] was, here the *Pikel*' etc. Since residence is bilocal, membership is based on parental residence. It is economically independent. It consists of parents A and B (sometimes other brothers and sisters who have remained in the household after their marriage), their children, these children's spouses, C, D, E, F and their children. Those who reside there form together with their spouses a *sarumaŋan*, but those who moved away after marriage no longer belong to it. An example is shown in Figure 2.1.

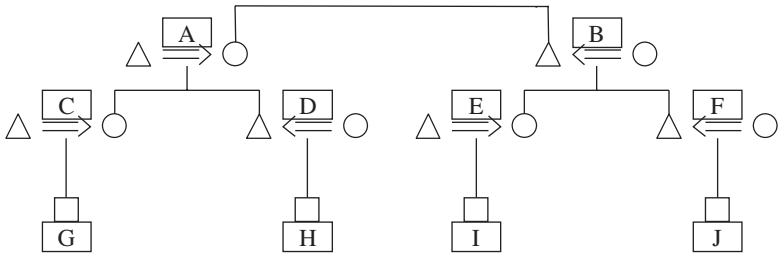


Figure 2.1 The minimum basic household, *sarumaŋan*

A few years after the marriage of A's children, via a normal division process, A and B separate and share out the land. A stays in the house and builds a new household, sharing the courtyard[10] with B and his descendants, which procures their financial independence while keeping the same household name. If the separation is the result of quarrels, the couple create a new unit and adopt a new name; for example, the *Liʈuŋ* who fenced in their house and became 'the surrounded'.[11] C, D and their children live with A. The other brothers and sisters of C and D have 'moved in' with their spouses. As soon as C and D's children are of an age to marry, a new segmentation takes place. In general A lives with the eldest son/daughter, his or her wife/husband and their children. There are also cases with a young couple choosing uxorilocal residence, but moving in after a few years with the husband's parents. In the *Pasaraʾaɖ* household (Figure 2.2), Aliwaki's parents, Siawan and her husband, died, and Dadiŋir, the grandfather, took charge of the house containing Siawan's family as well as Aunt Raban and her family. The eldest daughter opted for patrilocal residence, and the second, Aliwaki, was therefore in charge of his three younger siblings, two sisters and a brother. Aliwaki married Moiko, they had two children and then separated from the family of Aunt Raban, who was given half the courtyard and fields. The two

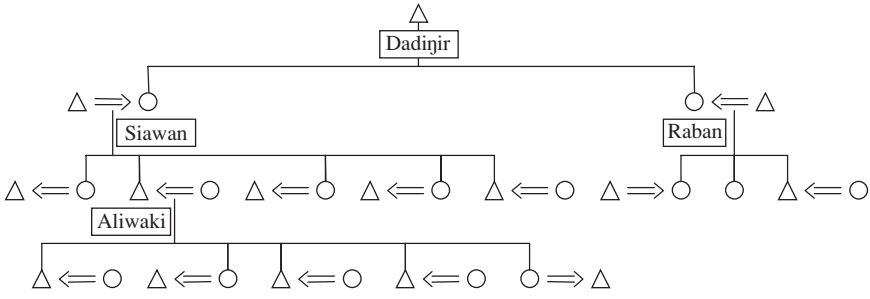


Figure 2.2 The *Pasaraʾaɖ* household

younger sisters moved in with their husbands, the youngest son married and lived for a while with Aliwaki and his family, then the two families grew and the youngest received a plot of land that belonged to the household, on which he built his new residence. On the plot of land, now divided in half, remained Aliwaki, his wife and their five children. The eldest daughter married a Chinese and left home, the three sons married and had children, the youngest married a Puyuma and 'moved in' with her husband. At this point, Aliwaki built three new houses on the remaining part of the courtyard, and moved in with his eldest son. Aliwaki, the father, built houses for the sons who remained, on his land, using his money, whereas the daughters received nothing. *Samawan* probably split up as shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1 Distribution of *samawan*, *sayamunan* and *sarumaŋan* among moieties

Moiety	*samawan*	*sayamunan*[a]/*sarumaŋan*	*sarumaŋan*
Lower	*Raera*	*Dalialep*	*Liṭuŋ*
			Kuŋkuan
		Tuluŋia	
		Tabeleŋan	
		Tiam	
		Maliali	
		Pakaoyan	*Dalisin*
		Kenas	
		Baduk	
		Parababuyan	
		Pinudaranan	
		Lapelap (Maman)	
		Bakabak	
	Araʃiʃ	*Masikaḍ*	
	Kuruŋan	*Kubaw-Timuḷ*	
	Makelen		
	Kalituŋai	*Miakan*	
	Butul	*Makadayaraera*	
	Kagi		
	Tarulibak (from *Katipul*)		
Upper	*Pasaraʾaḍ*	*Balibali*	
		Tamalakaw	
		Purbubuʾan	
		Paḷegi	
		Tuʾutuʾur	
		Kubaw-ami	*Miʾapuṭ*
	Pateŋ	*Luŋadan*	*Masikaḍ*
		Talawi	
	Balaŋato	*Pikel*	
	Sapayan	*Kaḍaḍepan*	
	Mabalio (from *Katipul*)		
	Paʾaliwan (from *Pinaski*)		

[a]*Sayamunan* are no longer mentioned; they are all considered as *sarumaŋan*.

Population of the village

The Puyuma population numbered 6,069 individuals in 1985. In Nanwang, there were 1,335 Puyuma in 275 households. The total population of the village was 3,023 inhabitants living in 667 households, making an average of 4.9 inhabitants per household for Puyuma, and 4.3 for Chinese. Statistics from 1995 mention a total Puyuma population of 6,668 individuals, 1,250 from Nanwang, representing an increase in the Chinese population.

This population does a variety of jobs whose distribution and numbers for 1985 are provided by the Taitung administration (see Table 1.7), which represents:

- farmers 21.7 per cent
- shopkeepers 0.4 per cent
- labourers 0.8 per cent
- civil servants 3.0 per cent
- services 7.1 per cent
- others 17.2 per cent
- exiled 10.4 per cent

Although the Puyuma were once mainly horticulturists they became farmers at the turn of the twentieth century, but in 1985 only 21.7 per cent of the population were farmers, 3 per cent of whom were civil servants. The Puyuma have no sense of trade; the few people who have opened shops have been exploited. 'A Puyuma gives to a friend, he does not sell, and does not refuse an object to a person recognised as one of his kind', they say.

The census of the working population of Nanwang carried out by Tseng Cheng-ming in 1976 provides the following data. The active population, 924 persons, represents 60.95 per cent of the total population, and includes 337 persons working outside Taitung province (36.47 per cent); 587 persons work locally or in Taitung (63.53 per cent). It may also be noted that 33.44 per cent of the active population is unmarried. The unmarried population working outside the province numbers 216 individuals, 163 men and 53 women, 75.46 and 24.54 per cent, respectively.

The Chinese started to move into the Taitung plain during the Hsian-feng period (1851–62), and by the thirteenth year of the Tung-chih period (1875) the Chinese administration counted 28 Chinese households (Lei Shih 1975: 121). In 1903, the Japanese administration counted 25,376 native Chinese men and 23,331 women in the Taito (Taitung) plain (Davidson 1903: 598).

For the year 1926, Table 2.2 gives a figure of 862 Puyuma, the highest figure for the decade under consideration. In 1928, there was a drop of 239 persons, which can be explained by the departure of the inhabitants to the new village, Apapolo, in the suburbs of Taitung.

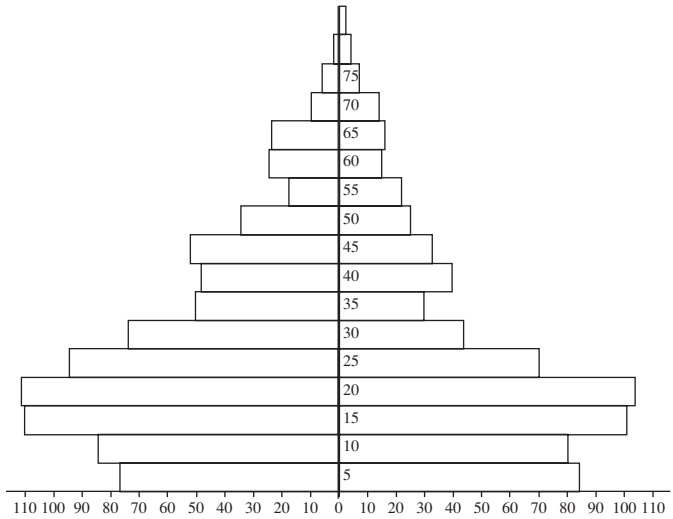


Figure 2.3 Age pyramid drawn up by Tseng Cheng-ming (1983)

Table 2.2 Census of the Aboriginal Affairs Bureau, 1926–1936

	1926	*1927*	*1928*	*1929*	*1930*	*1931*	*1932*	*1933*	*1934*	*1936*	*Average*
Households	109	97	88	89	98	87	127	95	93	104	98.7
Population	862	709	623	702	670	692	836	683	690	785	725.2
Men	426	354	312	354	335	347	406	336	339	372	258.1
Women	436	355	311	348	335	354	430	347	351	413	367.1
Persons per household	7.90	7.30	7.07	8.87	8.36	7.95	6.58	7.18	7.14	7.54	7.35

In the move to Nanwang in 1929, no Chinese were allowed to settle in the village. Chinese families started to come after Chiang Kai-shek came to power in 1950. In 1963, there were 684 Chinese in 136 households (Sung 1965: 17; see Table 2.3). From 1963 to 1970, the Chinese population increased by 362 individuals (52.92 per cent). The total percentage of Chinese was then 45.32 per cent. By 1972, the Puyuma were in the minority in their own village. Between 1977 and 1978 there was a very noticeable population increase among the Chinese: 254 persons and 53 households. Similarly, in 1978–9, there was an increase of 162 persons. In 1979, the Chinese represented 55.59 per cent of the total population. However, a slight decrease in the growth rate was observed in the following years.

Table 2.3 shows an atomisation phenomenon between 1963 and 1984. In 1963, 1,158 persons were counted in 180 households, and in 1984, 1,335

Table 2.3 Increase in the population of Nanwang, 1963–1984

	1963	*1970*	*1972*	*1974*	*1976*	*1977*	*1978*	*1979*	*1980*	*1981*	*1984*
Total											
Households	316	399	432	457	470	485	543	614	639	648	667
Inhabitants	1,842	2,308	2,372	2,382	2,545	2,564	2,835	3,065	3,025	3,011	3,023
Chinese											
Households	136	188	214	238	233	246	299	353	369	337	392
Inhabitants	684	1,046	1,236	1,272	1,219	1,291	1,545	1,707	1,668	1,685	1,688
Puyuma											
Households	180	211	218	219	237	239	244	261	270	275	275
Inhabitants	1,158	1,262	1,136	1,110	1,326	1,273	1,290	1,358	1,357	1,362	1,335
Inhabitants per household	6.43	5.48	5.21	5.06	5.59	5.38	5.28	5.20	5.02	4.95	4.80
% Puyuma	62.87	54.68	47.89	46.60	52.10	49.65	45.50	44.31	44.86	45.23	44.20

The 1963 data are taken from Sung (1965: 17); those for 1970–6 were provided by the Peinan Registry Office; and those for 1977–84 by the Taitung administration.

persons in 275 households, or an average annual growth of 8.4 persons and 4.5 households. This splitting of households into nuclear families started after the arrival of the Chinese in the 1950s, and between 1963 and 1984 there was an average of 5.33 persons per household, a decrease of 36 per cent. For 1936, statistics provided by the Japanese gave a figure of 8.31 persons per household.

3

GODS AND MEN

Religion is the key element of Puyuma identity. No Puyuma is insensitive to the manifestations of *birua* which I have classified in three categories according to the spaces they inhabit: the *kaʔisatan*, the *kaʔaulasan* and the third category, which seems to be 'homeless'. The men and women in charge of religious activities play an important role in the whole of Puyuma society. Shamans, some of whom do not speak the national language, can be seen getting into planes with their utensils and their long miscanthus stems, to perform a ritual at the home of a Puyuma living in a block of flats in Taipei or Kaohsiung.

Spiritual beings, *birua*

'Homeless' birua

The 'homeless' *birua*[1] must be mentioned first; they are limited in number, with extensive, ill-defined functions, and they intervene little in rituals. The most important is *temabaŋ*, 'he who watches from afar' (also called *temuŋur*[2]). Beneath him is *maladam*,[3] 'he who knows', and *purimawan* or *puridiwan*,[4] 'he who takes care of small details'. With the exception of 'he who watches from afar', who receives an offering during the ritual, known as 'giving the share', and who is sometimes called 'he who watches from the farthest away', *maɭitabaŋ*, the others are ignored and play the role of intermediaries between men and 'he who watches from afar'.

Birua *inhabiting a named space*

The pantheon of kaʔisatan

In the space known as *kaʔisatan*,[5] 'On High', above that inhabited by men according to its name, even if the spiritual beings living there intervene in the immediate environment, superiority implies inaccessibility for ordinary human beings. Here we can find the ritual pantheon, peopled by supernatural

beings defined by their territorial identity, their relations with nature or their historical dimension, such as the mythical ancestors.

***Birua* who are not ancestors**

- *Birua* of the natural order
  miʔalup, 'master of the hunt', and thus 'of nature, trees, fauna, flora etc.'
  mibabuyul, mibabuŋai (etymology lost), 'master of the ground'
  rubanbanaw, 'the rising sun'
  idare, 'in charge of the ground, from down below'
  irusu/miabulu/miarisaw, 'master of rivers'
  mia[anis, 'master of the mountain'.
- *Birua* of the social order
  temuadekal, 'those who make the village'
  tinuadekal, 'those who made the first village'
  miadatar/miadekal, 'masters of the village', 'those who "have" the village'
  pametek, 'protector of the house'
  adaʔadaw/reberebe, 'protectors from fires'
  miadaran, 'master of the roads'
  miawakal, 'master of the paths'
  misa[ikiḍ/mibanisin, 'masters of the village gates'
  miakubaw, 'master of the house'
  meŋaŋara, 'hide and wait'.
- *Birua* of everyday life
  bini, 'grain'
  piaku, 'muse of weaving'
  benaba[is/ḍemaḍu[un,[6] 'masters of change'.

***Birua* who are ancestors**

- *penasuŋiḍi/penasuŋaḍaw*,[7] 'he who is sitting'
- *temuamuan/maidaŋidaŋan*, 'the ancestors'.

The list is not exhaustive, and each place calls forth a *birua*, the 'master of the place'. The formulation of its name reveals its function: */mi/*, to have + place or object, e.g. *miʔalup* < *ʔalup*, hunting ground, to hunt; *miawakal* < *wakal*, the path; *miadaran* < *daran*, the road. Since Taiwanese have moved into the village, the ritual practitioners invoke *benaba[is/ḍemaḍu[un*, 'masters of change'. Moving house or setting up an ancestral altar calls for *penasuniḍi/ penasuŋaḍaw*, 'he who is sitting'. The *birua* of the roads are often invoked before entering the village, and areca nuts, money, cigarettes etc. are left for them on the roadside.

The pantheon of the kaʔaulasan

In the *kaʔaulasan*,[8] 'the Aulas', another imprecise but completely different place, shamans meet shaman ancestors. The shamans invoke the host of

their close ancestors, all the dead shamans, *murabarabak, ʈemaʈaʔep*,[9] their elector-spirit who is a former shaman, *kiniʈalian*,[10] *kiniʈunulan*,[11] dead ancestors (*temuamuan, maidaŋidaŋan*). All these ancestors are helpers, the shamans' 'auxiliary-spirits'.

Men, *benabulu*, and shamans, *temararamaw*, can intervene with the 'homeless' and the innumerable beings from 'On High', but only shamans have access to the *kaʔaulasan*. Men invoke the ones governing land and space: those of the hunt, the ancestral mountain, the rising sun, from down below (who also point south and west) and the mythical ancestors.

Conception of souls

Tinabawan

Man possesses three souls, *tinabawan*,[12] 'that which gives life', located above the skull and on each shoulder. Shamans invoke them by touching these three parts of the body. These souls become *birua* after death. In cases of unfortunate death, they turn into restless *birua*, *kuatis na birua*; otherwise they become good *birua, inaba na birua*.[13] During serious illnesses, nightmares or simply a moment of fear, but also during a new shaman's investiture ceremony, one or both *tinabawan* on the shoulders leave the body. Each individual also possesses *paʔʈaw*, 'that which makes a man'. This creator spirit is located above the head (just above, or high above?) and, as its name indicates, its departure leads to death: 'man is no longer made'. It should not be confused with vital energy, *ɭuʔum*, which is situated inside the skull, and must be regularly strengthened. In fact, no informants know exactly where *paʔʈaw* is situated. There may be some confusion between this entity and the *tinabawan* that sits on the top of the skull; it seems that the *tinabawan* on both shoulders may leave the body without causing death, but not the one located above the skull, whose absence means death.

Restless *birua* are the result of accidental death – drowning, suicide, road accidents – but the most feared, since they are the most unhappy and the most vengeful, are the *tinabawan* of women who have died in childbirth, *mararabak*. When a woman died in childbirth, daily life slowed down, and it was forbidden to draw water, cut wood or pound rice. Noise had to be avoided so as not to attract the attention of the *birua* in search of revenge, until the woman was buried. The *tinabawan* of children who can already walk need not be feared, but those of babies are bent on revenge. The souls of people dying an unfortunate death are unlucky, and must be driven away before any joyful ceremony, engagement or wedding. Abandoned ancestors are redoubtable and feared. For example, Laihue's mother was always ill. Her maternal grandmother's grave was abandoned in the flooded paddy fields of Peinan, according to the shamans, and the bones were taken to the graveyard. Laihue's mother recovered.

A good *birua* may become restless, but a restless one can never become good. In 1996 the male practitioner Karagar committed suicide, and he is now, and will always remain, a restless *birua*. Restless *birua* have to be fed every seventh month of each year, and only that month. A light is left burning in front of the door, no clothes may be taken out, and no one is allowed outside.

At what point does a *tinabawan* become a *birua*? The Puyuma say this occurs at death. A woman who dies in childbirth is feared until she is buried, any visitor to the house of a dead person hangs seven *puyuŋ* (*Anaphalis* or *Leontopodium*) or baniang leaves on his left ear and when a dead person is cremated, people cry 'leave!' to his *birua*, just before throwing the body into the flames.

At the time of death, the *tinabawan* join the *paʔɬaw*, and these two join forces to become the *birua*. As for the body, informants are categorical: it decomposes.

Birua

Among *birua*, there are those of the ground, flora and fauna, the four cardinal points, change, gates, down below, of the road etc.: they are all *birua* but not ancestors. These *birua* govern a space. They are the spiritual beings that live in the *kaʔisatan*, the world to which the male and the female officiants have access.

Ancestors are also *birua*, good or restless. The Puyuma sometimes talk of them as *birua* and sometimes as ancestors, *temuamuan*. They are divided into two categories, close and distant, those who are known and the mythical ancestors. Among the close ones, there are also two categories, ordinary ancestors and shamans. They do not live in the same place. Dead shamans live in the *kaʔaulasan*. The *birua* of dead shamans go up, whereas the others 'go down', *mudare*, even if their place is 'On High', *kaʔisatan*. When a shaman officiates, she sees rapidly, like a flash of lightning in a mirror, the disruptive ancestor. Where is he? If it is an ordinary ancestor, the answer is clear: 'There, down below, he cannot come up.' For example, in 1997, during the purification rite for those who had died during the year, performed for the women's festival, *muagamut*, the doyenne of the shamans, 'saw Araitai', an old woman who was the shamans' friend, and had died a few months previously; Araitai wanted to join in the festival. Another example concerns the capture of the *tinabawan* of Namiko, who became almost blind in September 1996; the shaman Siawan 'saw Namiko's grandmother', who had also lost her left eye. Her ancestor loved her, and showed it by passing on her handicap. As far as shamans are concerned, the situation is more complicated: they can be encountered either in the *aulas* during the '*yaulas*' ('to be in the *aulas*'), or down below. During the *purinakep* ('attract') ritual,

performed for a 35-year-old bachelor, the son of the shaman Amui who had died ten years previously, the doyenne 'saw her colleague', who explained that she was not pleased because her son had never performed the rite of 'giving the share'. Amui 'came down'. Hamayon writes (1978: 18): 'if the shaman can send his soul into the supernature, he can also incorporate beings that come from it; simply, who can be invited are not the same ones that can be visited – neither in the same circumstances, and incorporating them signifies adding them to oneself and not leaving them one's place'. In Puyuma, it does not appear that the *birua* are different; instead, the circumstances are not the same. The shamans invite their dead colleagues to come during an ordinary, everyday ritual, but they go up to visit them during the 'voyage', where they are 'in the *aulas*'. I will elaborate on these differences in Chapter 7.

Just after death, the Puyuma seek to identify the *birua* of the dead ancestor. During the night between the sixth and seventh days after death, a light is left burning in front of the open door, a meal is prepared for the deceased and ashes are strewn in front of the door; the dead person comes home to show the new shape – an invisible one – that he has adopted for a new life, or so it is said. No clothes may be taken out, or left outside. The next morning, people look for footprints left in the ashes, and the comments are numerous: if there are chicken footprints, it is a good change because the chicken can fend for itself from birth onwards, it is intelligent and hard-working; cat footprints are also good, since the cat guards the grain; if there are dog footprints, descendants are happy because the dog is the hunter's companion; if a snake has been there, this is a new, noble form, since the snake attacks only in self-defence. However, rabbit footprints show that the ancestor, like the rabbit, enjoys showing off; pig prints show that he is lazy.

It seems surprising to eat animals that may be the reincarnation of a relation. The Puyuma remind us that they do not eat dog, and used not to eat beef. In any case, this is not a reincarnation, i.e. a new life on earth, as in the Buddhist religion, but a new, invisible form of the ancestor who is now a *birua*.

However, shamans remain human. Shamans see their elector-spirit during the night, when this ancestor comes to visit. Siseko says that her ancestor scratches at the door, sits on a plank, and says: 'I'm here, I'll teach you.' She teaches Siseko shamanistic practices, then goes away. She is a person with fine eyes and no face, but a body. As for the other *birua*, she only sees them during the ritual like a flash of lightning in a mirror. Siawan also speaks of a flash of lightning in a mirror, and also sees the *birua* of ancestors during rites connected with illness. She sees the rabbit, or the dog, and tries to take hold of it, but in vain. She is never afraid, except when the ancestor has become headless.

Divination

We may cite oniromancy, ornithomancy and divination by bamboo splinters. Divination is not limited to a single category of person. The spheres of intervention of these ritual practitioners are not mutually exclusive.

Oniromancy, kiatia[14]

The bamboo diviner and the shaman can interpret dreams, and diagnose the causes of this disorder, since a dream is a disturbance. A nightmare indicates the absence of one of the *tinabawan* or a part of one. Only a shaman is invested with the power to recall a lost *tinabawan*.

Among the many good dreams, we may cite the following:

- dreaming of clear water, well washed clothes drying in the sun is a sign of harmony and good understanding
- dreaming of excrement brings fortune
- dreaming of receiving areca nuts means that the future harvest will be plentiful
- walking naked is a sign of good health and vitality
- climbing a mountain without coming down indicates the presence of a *birua*.

A non-exhaustive list of bad dreams includes:

- a gift of new clothes or the dreamer clothed or wrapped in a blanket is a portent of illness
- singing announces sorrow
- hearing a bell ring or being insulted announces a quarrel
- for a man, dreaming of embracing a woman leads to an unsuccessful hunt
- for a young 'virile-warrior', dreaming of a snake bite is a good omen, since the desired girl will accept his advances, but a fleeing snake indicates a refusal.

Ornithomancy: Divination by bamboos

Ornithomancy is dealt with in Chapter 8, and divination by bamboo splinters below.

Ritual practitioners

Ritual functions are assumed by diviners, *me?law*,[15] 'he who is a specialist in bamboo splinters', whom I have termed 'bamboo diviners'; (*benabulu*, 'to throw'[16]), and shamans (*temararamaw*, 'to hold out the hand towards the

identical'[17]). Bamboo diviners consult bamboo splinters. *Benabulu* manage the socio-cosmic unity of society by performing rituals concerning the life of the group. Through their relationship with the mythical founding ancestors of the group, the *benabulu* are, by nature, attached to their territory. Shamans deal with immediate social relations between men, playing a social role, but also acting as therapists, exorcists (in the biological and social sense of the term) and sometimes diviners. All of them – bamboo diviners, *benabulu* and shamans – enjoy great prestige.

The bamboo diviner, **meʔlaw**

Seven bamboo diviners practised in the village in 1985: Adaw from the *Tuluŋia* household, Aliwaki from the *Pasaraʔaḍ*, Buya from the *Pakaoyan*, Matiang from the *Maliali*, Semaŋa from the *Pateŋ*, Sumia from the *Purburbuʔan* and Suriginaw from the *Miʔapuṭ*. The bamboo diviner can only be a man, since the bamboos only speak to men. Nature is man's environment.

Origins

The practice was borrowed from a neighbouring people, the Amis. Invocations are always pronounced in their language.[18] The Amis myth tells us: 'Now here are the names of the spirits who came down to build the men's houses . . . Halawlaw came down, it is the bamboo used to make divining rods. Bamboo is used not only to make houses, but is also used to make sticks to find illnesses, seek for lost things, go fishing, hunting, build houses' (Bareigts 1976: 46). To become a bamboo diviner, one simply needs to learn the language of the bamboos. An accomplished diviner must know how to choose bamboos, young one-year-old shoots, facing east or, by default, uphill, towards the mountain and hunting grounds; it is essential that the bamboos are not lying down. However, bamboos possess a *tinabawan*, and know how to trick the incompetent bamboo diviner, one who is attracted by easy money (there is no fixed fee, but a minimum of 500 yuan was paid per session in 1997). The seven bamboo diviners, although they enjoy a certain prestige, do not live by their divinations, they are married and need other sources of income. The younger ones work in the local factories. The bamboo diviner, who works at home, at the client's house, or in the men's house during community rituals, proceeds as follows. In advance, he cuts bamboo stems into strips about 1 cm × 20 cm (see Figure 3.1), and leaves them to dry in a dry place protected from prying eyes. When he is ready to use them, he cuts them again into threads about a millimetre thick, and winds about 4 cm of one of the ends around his fingers. He protects his index fingers with thick pieces of rubber, and then splits the upper part into tiny splinters using a piece of bamboo wedged under his foot. He reads the answers to his questions in these splinters.

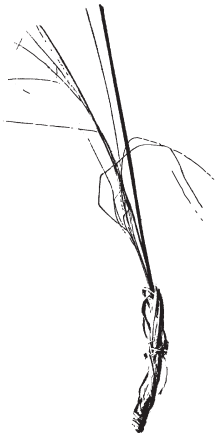


Figure 3.1 ʔlaw

Practices

The bamboo diviner intervenes to find a lost or stolen object. But he has a far more important role. A client who wishes to consult a shaman does not have to choose her personally. His first procedure is to ask the bamboos to designate a shaman and an auspicious date for the ritual. We may note that a shaman's clientele is built up partly thanks to the bamboo diviner; only partly, since some clients never consult the diviner and make a direct request to the shaman, either on account of her fame or because, in the past, they have been satisfied by her services. In this situation, if the shaman considers the patient's case to be serious or complicated, she herself asks the bamboo diviner to come to her house. The man then tells her the auspicious dates for performing the rite, and the village gate[19] where she must throw out the 'evil-bearing areca nuts'. The shaman derives a double advantage from this consultation: on the one hand, she is certain of not committing an error by intervening on an inauspicious day, and on the other, she 'buys' the complicity of a bamboo diviner if she does not have one in her household or among her relations. We have noted that the bamboos of the diviner Sumia frequently designate his sister-in-law, the shaman Siawan, and that Semaŋar's bamboos choose his great-aunt Alaw.[20] But the shamans' spiritual power is not shared with the bamboo diviner. In any case, small problems – itches, the flu, various illnesses – do not require the intervention of a bamboo diviner. Shamans are not mere executants since they can act alone, but they may seek this type of 'insurance'.

The benabulu

In 1985, there were only four *benabulu* left in the village, two of whom practised divination by bamboos, and in 1997, there was only one. It seems difficult to ensure the succession. The *benabulu* is always a man, a simple practitioner, master of the ritual that does not communicate with the *aulas*. Acquisition of this function is a personal decision; one simply needs a 'gift' for learning the invocations in the sacred language.[21] The six founding households try, in each generation, to train a *benabulu* to maintain the ancestral cult house.[22] The *benabulu* is above all in charge of the homeostasis of society and on this account performs all the rituals concerning the whole group: rain-making, offerings to the original ancestor, now a mountain, when the village is going through hard times, re-consecration of the tutelary ancestors ('those who made the village'), setting up the 'masters of the village gates', offerings to the founding ancestors etc. At these times they work in a group. For an intervention for a private individual, the *benabulu* receives a red envelope containing 500 yuan, but for collective rites, he receives only a symbolic fee of 200 yuan, at 1997 value.

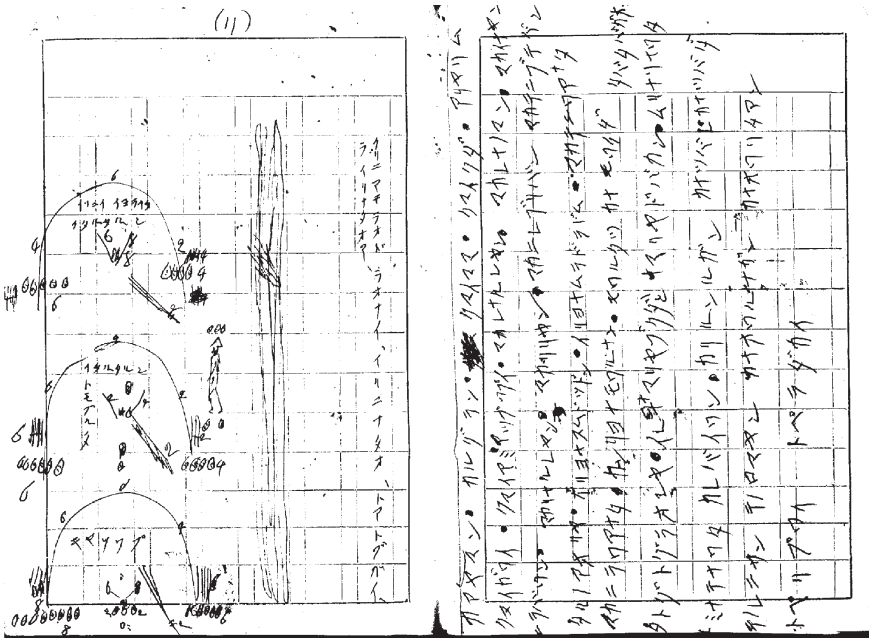


Figure 3.2 Notebook of the *Pasara'aḍ* household's *benabulu*, transcribed into *katakana*

The shaman, temararamaw

I shall give only a brief introduction here, enabling a comparison to be made between the religious professionals. A more detailed study of shamans can be found in the Chapter 7.

The individual reference lacking in the community rituals performed by the *benabulu* may be found in the shamanistic rituals performed by women. Their rituals deal with a precise, immediate problem. The relevance of the ritual is focused to such an extent on a temporary indisposition that a new ritual may be invented[23] to solve a problem generated by contemporary life; for several decades now, shamans have been invoking the spirit of change 'on account of all the upheavals our society has undergone', as they say. Only the body of the invocation particularises the ritual.

A ritual at a private individual's house is the perfect opportunity for meeting one's neighbours. The shaman carves the areca nuts while watching all the women from the neighbourhood who have come not to see the ritual, but because it affords them a moment of freedom. As soon as the *temararamaw* begins her invocations, she concentrates on her work, is attentive to the message of the *birua* and the proper progress of the ritual. The patient – who is often a woman – subjects herself to the shaman's touch without taking any interest in it. The Puyuma have decided, once and for all, that all these gestures and words are a secret that only the *birua* and their intermediaries the shamans can understand. The sacred language is adorned with spoonerisms, archaic terms and words borrowed from neighbouring groups. The women use the duration of the ritual to gossip; it is a quiet moment since the shaman restores the biological or social order of the household. All rituals end with a light meal.

The shaman leads a double life. She continues to behave like all the other village women for everyday activities – cooking, childcare, work in the fields etc. – but she is obliged to respond to each patient, she cannot refuse, except in circumstances beyond her control. So she leaves her home, since she makes house calls except for trivial ailments such as itching or childhood flu. The shamans' activities are exhausting; their day may begin at breakfast time and continue far into the night. It is easy to understand why their husbands are often against their investiture. Although they are now paid for their intervention, ten years ago they received only a few coins, or even a few areca nuts. Fees are at the client's discretion. However, payment is compulsory, since the *birua* do not agree to unpaid 'work' and the shaman is immediately punished. Sometimes patients forget to pay. A Taiwanese woman forgot to pay for her consultation with Irubai, and during the evening the shaman began to suffer from violent stomach pains. Her mother went to ask for a small gift, and as soon as it was presented to the elector-spirit, i.e. put in the bag, Irubai recovered.

Rituals

Ritual objects

Rituals are built around two objects: areca nuts and fired clay beads. Areca nuts, which are indispensable to any ritual, serve as metaphorical writing for communicating with *birua*. At the beginning of each ritual, they are carved to represent whatever they are exorcising: 'Like acts on like', writes Lot-Falck (1953: 99). For example, the nut that drives away untimely sneezing is cut in half and a ramie thread is put through it, extending about two centimetres beyond the husk, then a fired clay bead is threaded on to the outside part, symbolising the pinching of the nose carried out at the moment of the untimely explosion. The thread from another nut is curled up inside the nut to illustrate scandalmongering, thus imitating a tongue put back inside a mouth. The ends of nuts representing cases of unfortunate death are crushed and the cupula is torn off. After a plot of land is cleared, the shaman must appease the vengeful spirits of animals[24] that may have been killed: a long ramie thread fixed in the bottom of an areca nut represents a snake. Grain-stealing birds must also be kept away, so their feathers are symbolised by two plumy grasses placed on each side of the areca nut. This latter becomes an amulet when it is placed inside a small red cloth bag and hung round the patient's neck.[25] Amulets to protect means of transport are placed in a corner of the vehicle. They keep danger away and serve as protection from unlucky influences. A soldier hangs round his neck a small bag containing not only an areca nut stuffed with baked clay beads, but also a small fir branch[26] and a little piece of iron.[27] 'Iron is a protection against hostile forces', writes Lot-Falck (1953: 95).

By handling areca nuts, ritual practitioners charge them with the power they symbolize metaphorically, sometimes to destroy evil forces, sometimes as protection from them. They are placed at the edge of the village in a well defined order (see Figure 3.3), led by a 'dragging-nut', *keḍen*, followed by two groups of three and five 'offering-nuts'. Behind the 'evil-bearing-nuts', a ramie thread with small fired clay beads makes a frontier of no return for the restless spirits inside the nuts. If the spirits do try to return, a row of five 'guard-nuts', assisted by a 'superguard-nut', dissuade them, and if even the guards fail, a stone, an impassable summit, blocks off all possible return. Let us not forget that the *birua* turn indefinitely round the stones. The invocation, *kianun*, recited before placing the 'offering-nuts' on the ground, which describes the areca palm with its roots and drooping leaves, is dedicated to the first two areca planters, Masidaw and Masirut, in the hamlet of Salamusan. The use of areca nuts in rituals may possibly be explained by the Amis myth. The ritual practitioners chant *kana puran, kana biki: puran* is the Puyuma word but *biki* is a term borrowed from the Amis. This group tells us: 'An adulterous female shaman and a male shaman committed

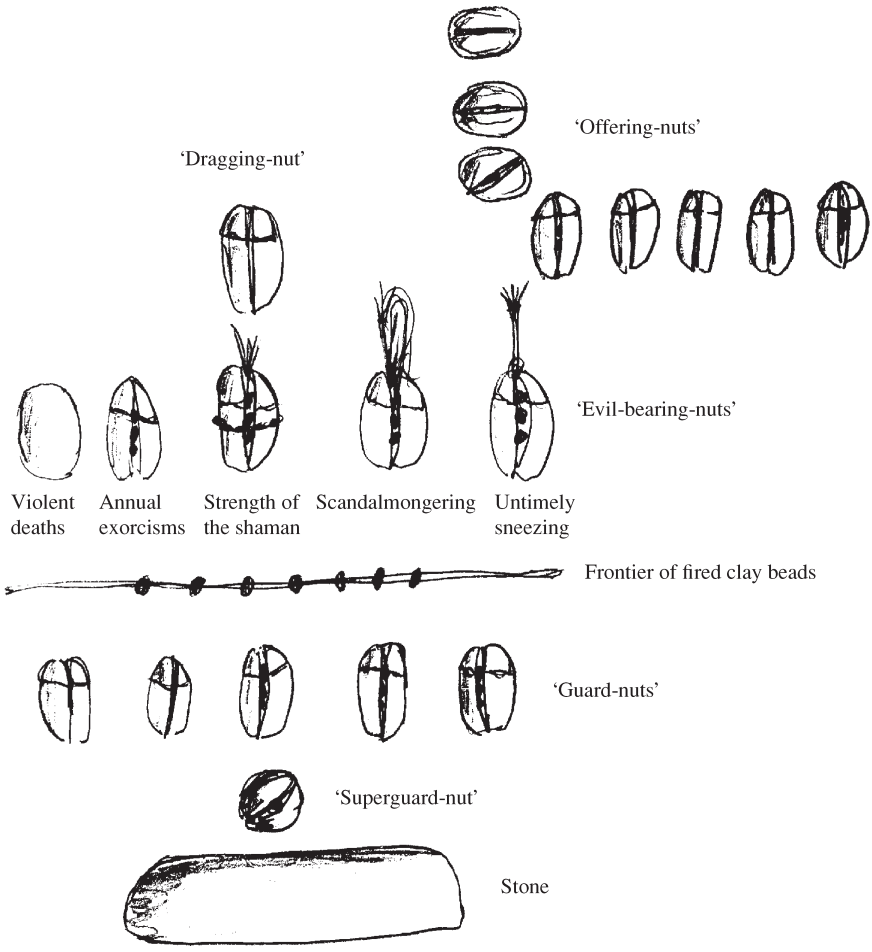


Figure 3.3 Arrangement of areca nuts

suicide after being severely beaten by the woman's husband. She turned into an areca palm, and he turned into the betel which twines round the tree.'

Kianun

1	*maʔtemer, madikes ku*	I hold
2	*kana biki, kana puran*	The areca nuts
3	*kinibuɭas, kiniɖuɭun*	Borrowed
4	*Daudauwai, Salamusan*[28]	From Daudauwai, from Salamusan.
5	*kan maidaŋ*	From these old men,
6	*Masidaw, Masirut*[29]	Masidaw, Masirut.

7	*kiabuɭasan, kiaɖuɭunan*	I borrow the place
8	*ɖa kasagasagar, ɖa kalayulayu*	And what you like and what pleases you,
9	*pinirakaɖan,*[30] *piniruɖawan*	The roots of the areca,
10	*pariŋa, tinan*[31]	The drooping leaves,
11	*pariŋa puʔuan*	Which sway.
12	*mukabanan, mukarabaŋ*	And there I place the crushed nuts
13	*kinaksiwan, kinakseŋan*	Containing the fired beads.
14	*kainawayan, kainagalan*	Before that,
15	*kinipabuɭas, kinipaɖuɭun*	I borrow
16	*ɖa iman, ɖa nunan*	A virgin place,
17	*kurpadikes, kurpaʔtemer*	And I take
18	*ɖa tabin, ɖa bakuŋ*[32]	The flat stones,
19	*ɖa maɭimawan, ɖa mabatiyan*[33]	The words
20	*nanku kianun, nanku kiadek*	Of my invocation,
21	*kanmu na temuamuan na maidaŋidaŋan*	And I dedicate them to you, the ancestors.

The second essential element for any ritual is the baked clay beads, *inasi*, 'that which has been baked in the fire'. These little, fire-coloured beads are strung on to a ramie thread and perform several functions. They are used to invite or send away *birua* at the beginning or at the end of each ritual, they are offerings, and shamans say that 'they pay *birua*'. They help the shaman with her diagnosis, and they also symbolise an impassable barrier of fire for restless *birua* when they are threaded on to ramie and left at the edge of the village behind the areca nuts.

Orientation

It is necessary to explain the valorisation of the left side in rituals. The *benabulu* and shamans perform the rites facing the rising sun. In this position, the upper side of the village space, with the mountain-ancestor, is on the left. This peak is the first ancestor, and the site of certain hunting grounds belonging to the men's houses. The Puyuma sleep with their heads uphill, whereas a dead person's head is placed downhill. During rituals, the shaman's bag is placed on the left shoulder and she holds out the areca nuts to 'the identical' with her left hand, which she also uses to throw beads to the *birua*, and to hold the brush made from *Melia azedarach*[34] used to sprinkle holy water; loosestrife[35] is also hung from the left ear. Similarly, on the substitute body, *tinuʈaʈaw*,[36] offered to *birua* in exchange for the patient's body or that of the shaman during her investiture, and on the one made to capture the last miasma of death, the ritual practitioner places nine areca nuts on the left side, but only seven on the right (see Figure 3.4). During the ritual of the 'masters of the village gates', the uphill gate and the eastern gate (of the

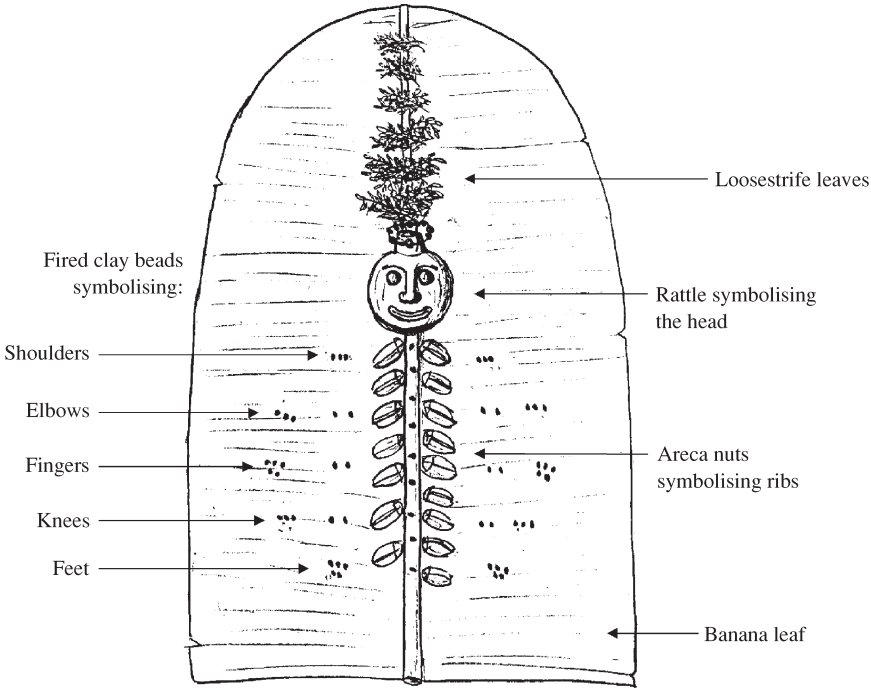


Figure 3.4 Tinuṭaṭaw

rising sun) receive nine areca nuts on the left side but only seven on the right, and at the downhill and western gates the number dwindles to seven and five, respectively.

Time

Since the principle of the distinction between rituals performed by *benabulu* and those performed by shamans has now been outlined, we may follow the movements of these two ritual figures within Puyuma society. Table 3.1 shows the types of ritual performed by these two ritual practitioners.

Table 3.1 calls for a few remarks. The rites performed by men concern the protection of society, even if they are performed for an individual or a household. A new house is partly of the community as a whole, and this is why the *benabulu* is responsible for wedging the areca nut symbolising the 'protector of the house' on a roof beam on the side facing the mountain. However, he 'lacks strength', as the shamans say, to perform the same ritual in their sanctuary. The *benabulu* does not communicate with the '*aulas*' where the shamans travel with their auxiliary spirits, so he cannot protect the place where the latter live in harmony with their chosen one. Similarly,

Table 3.1 Rites performed by the two ritual practitioners

Benabulu	*Shamans*
Everyday, non-collective rites Purification of objects by water, *puenai* Offerings, 'giving the share', *semepaɖ* Reinforcing the vital energy of a soldier, *puɭuʾum* Pray for a good harvest, *paseber*	*Everyday, non-collective rites* Purification of humans by water, *puenai* Offerings, 'giving the share', *semepaɖ* Explanation of a dream, *kiatia* Reinforcing the vital energy of any individual but a soldier, *puɭuʾum* Cleaning a house, *semirap* Purifying a house and mourners after a bereavement, *kisuap* Healing ritual, *demikes* Separation ritual, *penelin* Attraction ritual, *purinakep* Separation, distancing ritual, *partinuas* Catching bad luck, *kinalalegi* Breaking, cutting off ritual, *pareputɻ*
Installation of the 'protector of a house', *pametek*	*Exceptional, non-collective rites* Installation of the 'protector of a shamans' sanctuary', *pametek* Recall of the lost *tinabawan* of a living person, *aɭakaw tu tinabawan* Recall of the *tinabawan* of a person dead of an unfortunate death, by explanation, *penaʾiɖ* Installation of the *tinabawan* of a person dead of an unfortunate death, on the altar, *penasuŋiɖi*/*penasuŋaɖaw* 'Voyage to the *aulas*', *yaulas*
Cyclic, collective rites 'Rite of the deer', *pubiaw* Offering to the mountain-ancestor, *temu ɖa dekal* Calling for rain to start or stop, *pakaʾudal*	*Exceptional collective rites* Investiture of a shaman, *maɭagan* Purification by water of the ritual bag, *muenai*
Annual collective rites 'Going to the beach', *muɭaɭiaban* 'Feeding Takio' rite, or 'feeding the mountain', *pakan Takio, pakan na denan* Rites performed at *maŋayaw* • Renewal of life, *pubaʾaw* • Cleaning the village, *semirap kana dekal* • Re-consecration of 'those who made the village', *tinuadekal* • Setting up 'masters of the village gates', *semaɭikiɖ* • Thanking the rice-giving ancestors, *gemamuɭ*	*Annual collective rites* Annual women's festival, *muagamut* Annual shamans' festival, *pualasakan*

strengthening of a soldier's vital energy is done by the *benabulu*, inside the ancestral cult house to which the conscript is attached, whereas if another villager is concerned, a woman shaman takes care of the work. The soldier replaces the former 'virile-warrior', and defends his territory, now extended to the frontiers of his country, and only a *benabulu*, assisted by the mythical ancestors who owe their descendants protection, can perform this ritual. Standing in front of the door of the ancestral cult house, he calls the *birua*. Inside the small building, he prepares an amulet while asking the mythical ancestors to assist their descendant. The amulet nut, stuffed into a small red pouch, is worn round the young man's neck.

The 'giving the share' ritual is always the same, but is addressed to different *birua* according to whether it is a *benabulu* or a shaman who performs it. The male practitioner lays down a banana leaf in the place where the ritual is taking place; for example, the courtyard of a house. On it he places seven bamboo beakers and in front of each seven pieces of meat, a few coins and sticky rice cakes. The first of these seven place settings is dedicated to 'he who watches from afar', the next two to the 'masters of the hunt' and 'masters of the ground'. The last four are offered to the ancestors on both sides if the offering is intended for them, which is usually the case if a shaman performs the ritual. However, the offerings are dedicated to the 'founding ancestors of the village', 'masters of the road' and 'protectors from fire' if the ceremony is conducted by a man. At the bottom of the leaf, below each place setting, he places three areca nuts, the 'informants' of the *birua* honoured above the veins of the leaf, and lower still, three husks filled with rice and surrounded by three half areca nuts symbolising the table and chairs of four direct ancestors.

Rituals performed by the *benabulu*

The *benabulu* performs both daily and cyclical rites.

Everyday, non-collective rites

Every day, the *benabulu* performs rites of purification by water of objects such as cars and rites for protection of houses, strengthening a soldier's vital energy and 'giving the share' to the ancestors, and prays for a good harvest. Ceremonies dedicated to distant ancestors are always performed by men in the ancestral cult house, and shamans are strictly forbidden to practise in this sanctuary. To charge the amulet with vital energy, the *benabulu* performs the rite there, whereas the shaman performs it in the patient's home.

The *benabulu* also intervenes to 'make someone sick', 'bewitch a girl to obtain her favours', 'get rid of a troublesome lover', 'make a woman sterile' and 'make an individual happy or unhappy'. However, it is the shaman's job to eradicate an 'evil spell'. The *benabulu* say not that they are 'casting a

spell' on someone, but that they are 'helping their clients', so their actions are positive.

Cyclic, collective rites

Offerings to the mountain-ancestor, temu ḍa dekal

When society experiences difficulties, the *benabulu* performs the *temu ḍa dekal*, i.e. 'make the village' offerings. He cleans the village, then goes to the edge of the village on the side where the gate of the upper moiety is. Facing the mountain-ancestor, he calls on the *birua*, then places the 'offering-nuts' in rows of decreasing size containing nine, seven, five and three nuts, then he fixes a bamboo stem in the ground, the *ɭuʾum* of the village, 'the vital energy of the village'. Once the offering and the invocation are finished, he dismisses the *birua*.

Rain-making ritual, pakaʾudal

Rites for making or stopping rain are performed either by *benabulu* accompanied by Elders, or by bamboo diviners. But farming is no longer the main source of income of the Puyuma, and the few farmers left in the village grow either irrigated rice or sugar cane, so it is not necessary to call for sun or rain any more. However, everyone still knows the legend:

idina pakaʾudal i.	To ask for rain.
asua dian, mutani a deruŋ	Once, a thunderbolt fell
kadi pinidekalan kema i,	Here in the middle of the villagers,
kadi dekal kema.	Here in the village, so the story goes.
kemadu, an adi maʾudal,	Thus, if it did not rain,
məʾlaʾlaw na maidaŋan i	The old men called the bamboo diviner
kainanaba kanta puʾnayai kema.	Who said it would be good for us to water it.
aw, maraḍuk a maidaŋan.	So, the old men assembled.
aw, a Lakana,[37]	Then the Lakana
aw tu ukayaw puʾnayai kan amnin ta.	Went to water it when everything was dried up.
maʾudaʾudal, kemadu,	The rain fell unceasingly, and so
aw, adi la muaʾi, maḍaŋa na ʾudal i.	Refused to stop.
maraḍuk na maidaŋ i,	The old men assembled,
tu ʾlaʾlaway	Called the bamboo diviner
au tu ukayaw purbuai.	And they went to throw fire on it.
maḍaŋa na ʾudal.	The rain stopped falling.
kemadu, kinasuaʾanan a pauwayan	These are our customs.

Today this thunderbolt can be seen, turned to stone. This prayer-cum-legend is the proof that it was not the shamans, whatever they might say to the contrary, who intervened to make rain fall, but the bamboo diviner and the village Elders accompanied by a *benabulu*.

'Rite of the deer', pubiaw[38]

As I mention in Chapter 6, this ritual used to take place after a head-hunt to enable 'virile-warriors' returning with a severed head to be reintegrated into society. Nowadays, if the village goes through a bad year – bad harvests, many deaths – the mayor calls together the council of Elders and everyone decides that it is time to make a substantial offering to the mythical ancestors by performing the 'rite of the deer'. The Elders or the bamboos choose a *benabulu*, usually the one in charge of the ancestral cult house of the founders of the village, since this is where the ritual takes place. Formerly, men hunted the deer themselves, but today they order one from a professional hunter. All the villagers share in the cost. The *benabulu*, surrounded by men to help him in his material tasks, acts alone in this ritual. The same offering can be made by a household that has run into great difficulties.[39] In the first case, all the villagers are invited; in the second, only the household, its different branches, and affines take part.[40] A description of the 'rite of the deer', *pubiaw*, seems called for at this point.

Several years ago, corrugated iron replaced mud as a building material for the ancestral cult house of the founding family, but the overall plan is respected. The window to the east remains permanently open, so that ancestors may come and go as they please. On the shelf fixed to the *ami* wall there are areca nuts, offerings of millet placed in coconuts; the *sacra*, bows and arrows from former days of glory, are shut up in a box; the skulls of previously offered deer are hung on the east wall. On the south side, three hearth stones support the pot of sticky rice.

People do not just drop in at the 'rite of the deer', they arrive early in the morning and stay until late afternoon. First of all, the fire is lit. After purifying the sanctuary by fumigating it with conifers, the Elders settle down in the smoke to cure all their ills: epidemics, rheumatism etc. Each participant sticks a stem of loosestrife behind his left ear, a plant endowed with apotropaic properties allying 'prophylaxis and conciliation'. The absence of this herb causes deafness, according to the Puyuma. As soon as the fire crackles, the *benabulu* prepares the offering of areca nuts with symbolic properties. He then informs the ancestors of the order of the ritual and attaches strings of clay beads around the *sacra*, in purification of a symbolic hunt. The men wrap millet stalks in leaves of *Maracanga tanarius*, which they hang over the shelf. A woman from the founding household pounds and cooks the sticky rice, which she places as an offering in one of the coconut halves. Meanwhile, outside, just in front of the sanctuary door,

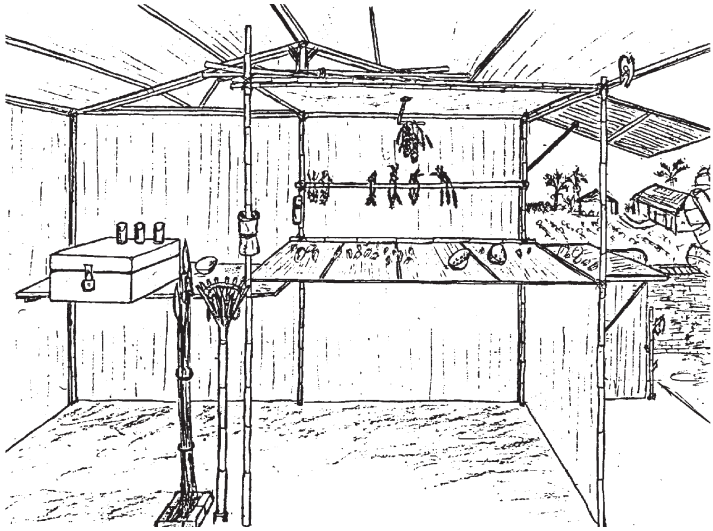


Figure 3.5 Interior of the *karuma?an*

men burn the animal's hair with a straw torch. Before the meat is cooked, the *benabulu* removes the deer's liver and heart, and cuts them into small cubes that he stuffs with sticky rice grains, and a couple – a brother and sister from the household – eat these pieces of meat raw. The head, the liver and the heart are wrapped in an areca spathe, and the right foreleg in another. This choice morsel is given to the *benabulu*. The latter and a man from the household skewer the parcel containing the offal on a bamboo, which the two men swing while intoning the *patintin* song, 'to shake holding in one hand' (see Appendix 6). Each participant feeds the ancestors by throwing a few grains of rice in front of the sanctuary door. Then, inside, the men eat the cooked meat. Outside the sanctuary, the women eat sticky rice balls and taste the delicious broth made from the muntjak's blood. The meal is eaten in the traditional fashion, without seats or chopsticks. It is only by means of this general communion that socio-cosmic unity is restored and the old men cure their illnesses in the same way that the younger son recovered the use of his legs, since everyone remembers that this ritual repeats the one dictated to the two parricidal brothers by the mythical bird (see Chapter 6).

Although the *benabulu* alone communicates with the ancestors, and his costume reveals no particular distinctive signs, he is nevertheless surrounded by the entire village or by a founding household of men and women. The ritual is only performed nowadays in cases of necessity, but it is nevertheless cyclical, since links must be constantly re-established with the protective ancestors and the Puyuma are well aware that formerly this ritual took

place every year. Each person plays his part with great concentration, so he may have a better appreciation of the male ritual specialist's incomprehensible gestures and words, admiring all the objects placed here and there on the altar without touching them or asking questions.

Maŋayaw

For this passage, I refer the reader to Chapter 6, dealing with the *maŋayaw* ceremonial cycle, but here is a brief summary. On the first day, all the men 'renew life'. On the second day, two *benabulu* 'clean the village'. On the third day, accompanied by a few men, the same ritual specialist 're-consecrates the tutelary ancestors' and sets up the 'masters of the village gates'. On the fourth day, he 'gives the share to the rice-giving *birua*', and in the evening the *takubakuban* purify the houses. On the fifth day, they undergo the rite of passage. From the sixth to the ninth days, the men camp on the mountain, hunt, sing and perform the rite of passage of the new 'virile-warriors'; the same evening, the newly promoted 'virile-warriors' parade through the village. On the tenth and last day, the Elders bring mourning to an end.

Rituals performed by shamans

As noted before, shamans fulfil, above all, a social role. A study of their rites will be found in Chapter 7. However, they may be classified in two main categories: ordinary rites, which they perform each day, and exceptional rites, which require special organisation and necessitate the use of certain attributes hidden during ordinary rites, such as the rattle.

Parishes

All Puyuma villages possess a Catholic and a Protestant church, both very unassuming buildings. The Catholic church, a little building without a spire, can be found at the end of a lane, among the papaya trees and the sugar cane. The Protestant church, just as unobtrusive when the nursery-school children are not there, is built on the Rikabung road.

The first missionaries arrived at the beginning of the 1950s, expelled from the People's Republic of China. In Imerina, studied by Condominas, the two rival forms of Western Christianity became anchored in the two classes of the social structure. What strikes one on arrival in Puyuma is the division of the village between the two churches, which have adopted the dual structure of the village. The Protestant church is built in the lower moiety and the Catholic church in the upper moiety.

As soon as they were set up, the two parishes met with a certain enthusiasm from the inhabitants. It is not possible to speak of rivalry between the two parishes but there is rivalry between these and the shamans. The households

that gave up rituals dedicated to their ancestors after undergoing conversion suffered years of misfortune. The male ritual practitioner from the *Pasaraʔaḍ* household gave this explanation: 'The shamans intercede with our *birua*. The gods of the churches are strangers, so how can they know what we need?' All the members of the *Tabeleŋan* household converted to the Protestant faith destroyed their ancestral cult house. Three youths died, the land allotted them by the Japanese administration in 1929 was claimed by the *Kagi* household and they had to rebuild their house outside the village boundaries. The shamans and bamboo diviners diagnosed revenge by the abandoned ancestors staying in the *karumaʔan*. The *Tabeleŋan* left the church, rebuilt the sanctuary and since then have performed all the rites necessary to maintain harmony between the dead and the living, and the household now lives in peace. The second well known example is in the *Pakaoyan* household. The whole family is Protestant. The mother is paralysed, one of the sons died falling off a bridge after a night's drinking, another son was lost at sea, a grandson is lame in one leg and Isaw broke his back after falling from the first floor during the building of a house, since he did not heed the opinion of the bamboos concerning the layout of this building, the Puyuma remember.

Even though the two parishes do not attract the Puyuma much, paradoxically, they have great confidence in the hospitals in Taitung run by the two Christian churches. The doctors are foreign – Swiss, Dutch, American – and most of the nursing staff are aborigines. The Catholic-run hospital attracts mainly the Amis and the Protestant hospital is favoured by the Puyuma. Even the husband of the shaman Hanako, Tusan, had a prostate operation there.

The two churches' role as bankers certainly attracted the poorest people into the 'bosom' of the church, at least for a while. Parishioners can lend any sum of money at good rates and, more importantly, borrow (at less good rates).

The Catholic church

The former parish priest of Nanwang, Father Veil, provided the following figures for 1985: 56 women, 36 men, 28 children; a total of 120 persons converted from 44 families A controversy arose between the Catholic missionaries. Certain priests baptised unprepared persons, who left the church at the first sign of trouble. Father Hermann from the village of Ulibulibuk showed his disapproval of these hasty baptisms on several occasions. At Christmas 1984, I counted 53 persons for the two villages of Nanwang and Pinaski. At the beginning of the 1950s, Father Veil translated the *Agnus Dei*, and the Puyuma musician Baliwakus, a Catholic, wrote the music. Today, the parish priest is a Puyuma from the neighbouring village of Katipul.

The Protestant church

The first church was built in 1953. There are two pastors in the village of Alipai, and one in Pinaski. The pastor of Nanwang belongs to the *Kenas* household, and his predecessor was a *Pakaoyan*. Although the Catholic priests are often foreigners, Swiss or German, pastors have been recruited from among the aborigines for the past twenty years. The minutes of the 1983 meeting mention 53 persons present, nine absent, 26 children and five sympathisers, for a total of 93 persons. This total includes the two villages of Puyuma and Pinaski. There are about 40 children at the nursery school, but ten years ago there were 70. The pastor admits that his church is being gradually abandoned and that people are returning to the Puyuma religion. School fees for a child are 2,000 yuan per month, and 350 yuan for meals.

* * *

Although the ritual specialists, both male and female, share the same metaphorical language, the values expressed in their acts do not belong to the same register. *Benabulu* and shamans have the common feature, in the Puyuma ritual, of being praying figures. They do not go in for any complexity in their costume or in the decor of their liturgical space. All the power of their acts resides in the sacred language, the metaphoric writing of areca nuts and fired beads, and gestures that are sacred because they are unknown to ordinary people, although their expressive or symbolic functions are known to the ritual practitioners. The woman shaman intervenes in ordinary, everyday life, she looks after man and his *ego*, she maintains family cohesion. Her relations are horizontal, between men and their direct, known ancestors, who are so close that they can be spoken to. She pleads in the patient's favour so that the ancestors will restore order. The survival of the shamans is probably ensured by this individual relationship with society. They are necessary for family harmony, and by going from house to house they encompass the whole village as an internal world, their domestic universe. Shamans live in the present; even the original myth of their practises belongs to contemporary history. There is a myth explaining the use of areca nuts in rituals, but it belongs to the Amis neighbours, and Puyuma women do not mention it. It seems that they have also forgotten the existence of the first shaman, Tuben, which may be connected with other, more ancient practices, also forgotten. Shamanistic ritual answers the client's immediate needs, it is *ad hoc*; hence the construction of a new altar for each intervention. Although in everyday rites the shaman, who officiates standing, seems to be controlled by the *birua*, during the annual 'voyage' to the *aulas*, sitting, she is in control of the ritual, and is at no time overpowered. The omnipresence and omniscience of the women shamans prevent doctors from setting up within the village.

As for the men's rituals, *maŋayaw* is incontestably the best guide to a full understanding of society and the role of each individual. *Maŋayaw* is above

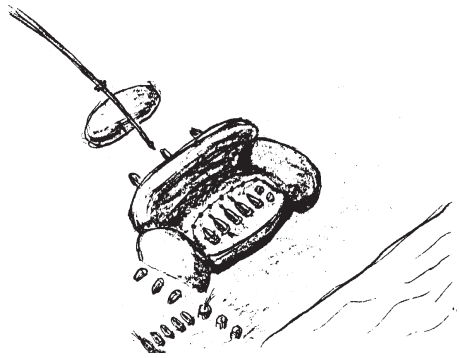


Figure 3.6 Shaman's stone altar, *pualib*

all a rhythm: a ritual is performed because the preceding one is finished, and all of society must be purified in a given time, both the space and the men. *Maŋayaw* emphasises that it is the *benabulu* who is in charge of homeostasis between man and nature: cleaning of the village, protection of the gates, re-consecration of the tutelary ancestors etc. He is responsible for a vertical relationship, and renews periodically the alliance with the mythical founding ancestors through invocations and offerings. His role is to ensure the continuity of the group, his space is the village in its territorial unit, his time is permanence; hence his permanent altar in the ancestral cult house. This continuity is governed by the mythical ancestors, and the *benabulu* is only the intercessor who addresses these ancestors. He is the master of ritual because he is never possessed. He re-enacts the myth at the scene of its first occurrence, at *gamuɭ*, on the beach, at the riverside, in the ancestral cult house. His space is mythological and the rituals he performs are long, carefully prepared plays, never improvisations. The *benabulu*'s place is in time immemorial, and it is the one from the founding house who guards the village *sacra*. In reality, the *benabulu* does not communicate with the mythical ancestors: he addresses invocations to them, but cannot speak with such distant ancestors. The ritual form is codified. The *benabulu* takes part in exceptional, cyclic events.

4

BIRTH AND DEATH

Birth

A woman's pregnancy gives rise to changes in the couple's daily life. During the gestation period the future mother and her husband are subject to a certain number of taboos based on magic by analogy. If they are broken, childbirth will be complicated. 'The child refuses to come out', it is said. A pregnant woman must not use sharp objects: she must not sew, knit or hammer in nails. She must not tie a knot in anything, or make interlaced fences, or 'the baby will remain a prisoner in his mother's womb'. If there are difficulties with the delivery, the father must immediately go and destroy any fences put up during the pregnancy, pull out nails or unravel sweaters. The future mother must not lean up against a door frame, as otherwise 'the child will not be able to decide whether to stay or to leave his mother's womb'. If the taboo is broken, the door frame must be immediately wiped three times. The mother-to-be must not help to demolish houses, or step over ropes, yokes or bamboos. She must not sit on a bench, even in a cart, next to another person. She must drink in small sips, and must on no account swallow liquid too fast, or her new-born baby will start vomiting at birth. At work in the fields, she must not build a hearth with three stones, or, if she does, she must destroy it before leaving.

Other taboos are intended to favour the child's normal development. The mother must not look at a monkey during pregnancy, or her new-born child will resemble it; she must not eat chillies, or the child will be born with infected eyes; she is also forbidden to eat an animal's head and liver. As for the father, he must on no account cut a bamboo to carry water, or his child will be born with a hare lip. New-born babies affected with this disability were formerly smothered straight away: I have been told that their seven vital orifices were stopped with cotton cloth. A similar 'closing' of the body has not been attested for those dying a natural death. Twins, considered to be a disaster,[1] were subjected to the same fate. Both were put into bags, which were hung on a branch in a bamboo grove[2] outside the village; today this place is opposite the cemetery opened by the Japanese administration

at the beginning of the twentieth century. In the evening, a noise like the pounding of a pestle in a mortar can be heard: this is thought to be the cries of the smothered children.

The father-to-be must on no account enter the house of another pregnant woman, and access to her house is also forbidden to any unmarried man; otherwise he might have his head cut off during a hunting expedition. As soon as a pregnancy is announced, the father joins the group from his men's house to go hunting, but he must not kill any animals – otherwise the child will have a mark on his forehead[3] – or trap any, or the new-born child's nose will be crooked. He takes charge of all the ancillary camp duties normally entrusted to 'young men in the marginal period, *miabubtan*'. The prohibition on hunting, but also on going to the fields and staying in the men's house, continues until the child's navel has healed[4] – seven days after birth – but it will never heal if these taboos are broken. Other men are on no account allowed to enter the house of the woman in childbirth; for them, this prohibition is linked to blood. All these taboos, which are still observed, concern the pregnant woman without upsetting her life; it is a different matter for the father, who is, to a certain extent, excluded from masculine activities.

Today, babies are born in hospital in Taitung, but formerly the birth took place at home. Accounts given by elderly women informants do not enable us to reconstruct the entire event, and leave many questions unanswered. Birth rites were performed both by members of the household and by other women from the village. The woman gave birth squatting[5] in the room, helped by her mother or her husband, and one of the two parents, after measuring a hand-span, cut the umbilical cord with a bamboo knife. The new-born was washed, and ashes, which according to the Puyuma possessed healing powers, were applied to the end of the umbilical cord. If it was the first boy in the family, he was then wrapped in the belt decorated with bells[6] that his father wore when he was in the boys' house. Whatever the child's sex and position in the family, the afterbirth was rolled in the spathe of the areca palm and buried at the foot of the fence on the uphill side of the garden. The father went out to draw water and inform his family. During this time the mother was washed with an infusion of leaves of *Ebulus formosana* or *Blumea balsamifera.* She drank a tonic made from rice beer. In case of haemorrhage, she drank a potion prepared a month before the delivery.[7] Nowadays, young mothers returning from the maternity hospital are still given much care and attention, and they enjoy being bathed and given tonics.

The second day after the birth, the father's family sent presents, and indeed still does, although the nature of the gifts has changed. The same day, the child was introduced to his or her activities; with her mother holding her hand, the little girl cut a few symbolic blades of grass with a sickle, and the father helped his son to cut the branch of a tree with a machete.

This ritual took place in the courtyard or garden adjacent to the house, and is still celebrated by certain families. Once these first rites were performed, the parents took the baby outside the door of the house and 'introduced' him to the supernature by throwing a few grains of rice. At night, the child shared his parents' bed next to the elder brother or sister, sometimes as old as ten; during the day the new-born lay on cushions in front of the house or in the central room, protected from restless spiritual beings by a knife placed behind his head.[8] During the days following a birth, I have seen the old women of the village coming to the house of the new mother. They are given snacks, often made of leftovers reheated many times, which they nibble while they smoke their pipes and chew betel. The visitors exchange news, but also remain silent for long periods, and from time to time celebrate the arrival of the new baby with a burst of *a cappella* singing. The men come to sing on the seventh day, 'after the navel is dry'. Here are the words of the song for the birth of a boy:

We announce	*mardadaʔul ta*
To the younger members of this household	*a sarumaʔan liwawadian*
That we have come to welcome	*ɖua ta kiaʈebuŋa*
The little child, the little boy,	*ɖa ʔmu ʔmu ɖa maʔinayan*
With his hair cut like a gutter.[9]	*ɖa maiʈebʈeb (bubtan), ɖa maitintin*
We announce his birth to all the relations.	*kemaya ta niruma ʔan*

A girl is welcomed in the following terms:

We announce to this household	*mardadaʔul ta a sarumaŋan idu*
We sing in chorus	*marsasuru ta*
To the people of the households	*ɖa sayamunan idu dian*
To welcome the little girl	*ɖua ta kirʈebuŋa ɖa muʔ muʔ*
Who wears the *tubil* skirt[10]	*ɖa maitinubilan*
Who separates her hair[11]	*ɖa sinugayan idu*
Who has come from a crater, filled with water, from a deep hole.	*kema i mudanadanaw, kema i muɭineɭinuŋ*
Let us sing about her birth to the whole household.	*misenanairan ta sarumaŋan idu*

Here is another text sung on this occasion:

The fire, the fire (is transmitted)	*apue, apue*
From generation to generation.	*niruma ʔan liwawadian*
With the sound of bells,	*ula semarisiŋ*
We come to welcome	*i ɖua ta la kiaʈebuŋa*

The gift of creation,	*tu berayai ta ḍa kademawayan*
The little child, the boy/the girl.	*ḍaʔ mu ʔmu, ḍa maʔinayan, ḍa maitinubilan*
Let us sing.	*kemaya ta i.*

It was also on the second day that the baby was given his personal name by one of his two parents, or a grandparent. The name was that of a living or dead ancestor on the mother's side for a girl, or on the father's side for a boy. All the people present at the birth had to approve of the choice. The name was only used for a short time since the child was quickly given a nickname; for example, the skinny one (*ukak*), the bed-wetter (*paresi*). It is still a serious insult to call a man by his birth-name, since this implies that he has not grown up, or progressed through the different age-grades of his life. There used to be a small pool of masculine and feminine personal names, with the addition of a few Japanese names since the end of the nineteenth century, from which parents could choose. If by chance an adult died an unnatural death – war or hunting for a man, or childbirth for a woman – their name was given to a new-born baby of the opposite sex. A girl kept her nickname until the birth of her first child, after which she became 'mother of . . .' followed by the child's personal name. As soon as a boy entered the boys' house he lost all references to the past, to become known simply as 'of age-set X'. He then acquired a personal nickname known only to his age-class, which he quickly forgot on entering the men's house. On taking its name, he identified with it until the birth of his first child, when he became 'father of . . .'. Among themselves, the young and the old continued to refer to each other by their household name, which was determined by the parents' residence at the time of the birth. This reference dominated all the others.

In the 1950s, the government assigned a Chinese patronym to each family head, who now transmits it from father to son. For old people, this identity is administrative, and when asked their Chinese name, they present their identity cards. Today, all children bear this patronym, and a Chinese first name chosen by the parents. In 1994, all aborigines won the right to take back their ethnic names and write them on their identity cards. This is a personal procedure, which few have taken advantage of to date. This decision is included in an additional clause to the Constitution of the Republic (see Chapter 9).

To return to the choice of a personal name, if the new-born baby falls ill, a shaman seeks the cause of his illness. She implores the creative divinity[12] to allow the child to live and grow. Diagnosis often reveals an incompatibility between the child and his name, which is then changed, or between the child and his mother. If it is a desperate case, the shaman informs all spirits and ancestors of the baby's transfer to a new mother. I have noted several cases, such as that of Pilai, who had already given birth to two sons when

her sister gave her sick baby girl to her; the baby's life was in danger if her mother kept her. The second case is that of Simaku, who gave her sick second daughter, aged two weeks, to a childless couple from a neighbouring tribe. The third case is ambivalent: the shaman Alaw had to give her sick only daughter, Siseko, to her husband's sister. It should be noted that her sister-in-law was barren and lived alone with her husband. She could not 'mother' any other child since her two brothers had chosen to reside in their wives' houses. However, Alaw shared her house with her sister and her family, and always spoke of her nephews and nieces as though they were her own children. Apart from transfer for therapeutic reasons, adoption is used to relieve sterility. In this way, a sterile couple adopted three children: the wife's brother's son and two children from a neighbouring Puyuma village. Similarly, the shaman Atung adopted a girl born to a Taiwanese family.

The shaman calls upon the spiritual beings so that the adoption may be accepted: 'I inform you that I hold in my hand your share, the leaf. I also hold sticky rice cakes, and beads baked in the fire, strung in sets of nine, seven, five and three, with which I want to buy a human being, a creation. They look for what does not suit his father, his mother. Demawai! I want him to become my descendant! I pray, I implore you to let him become my creation, that he may suit me, such as you have formed him, you have fashioned him. Make him grow.'

Rather than giving their children an age in years, Puyuma parents calculated it according to motor development for infants, then according to traditional occupations. Table 4.1 gives the terminology corresponding to the different stages, from the first days of life up to the age of about twelve. This terminology does not differentiate between boys and girls. They were brought up together by the women of the household: mother, grandmother, sisters and maternal aunts. Old people say that children did have the same occupations – both boys and girls looked after zebus, and they shared the same games, frequently interrupted by their mother's call to come and comfort a younger sibling.

Table 4.1 Ages of children

Age	*Boys/girls*	*Literal meaning*
0–5 months	*manuden*	Baby
5 months	*miakupu*	Who is on his stomach
6 months	*maramateŋaɖaw*	Who sits up
7 months	*kuaɭuai*	Who climbs
8 months	*maɭaɭaɭa*	Who crawls
9 months to 2 years	*muɖaɖaŋi*	Who walks
2–5 years	*maɭaɭinai*	Who fights in play
6–12 years	*pulikan*	Who looks after the zebu

Women ruled over this domestic society, and were in control of their children's world. Men explain that their model was a father living in the men's house, but a mere 'visitor' in the house of their childhood. It seemed inevitable for them, at the onset of puberty, to go to the boys' house, where their prestige was fully revealed. Men left economic production and social reproduction to the women. Boys were thus less strongly attached to the women's sphere, which they had to leave in any case,[13] than to the masculine solidarity that would forge their characters. Girls' changing status was not sanctioned by any rites, and they were completely excluded from the age-system and initiations.

Death

Natural deaths

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, the dead were buried in the house, at the foot of the gable, on the downhill side. The bodies, wrapped in mats, with their heads facing downhill, were lined up from the west wall towards the east wall, but burials stopped at the three-stone hearth set up in the south-east corner. When there was no longer enough space, the dwelling was abandoned to worms and insects, and a new house was erected a few yards away. Since clothes and shoes did not disintegrate, it was unlucky to bury them with the body. After three days of non-stop raining, the roof would leak, and the dead would give off steam, say the Puyuma.

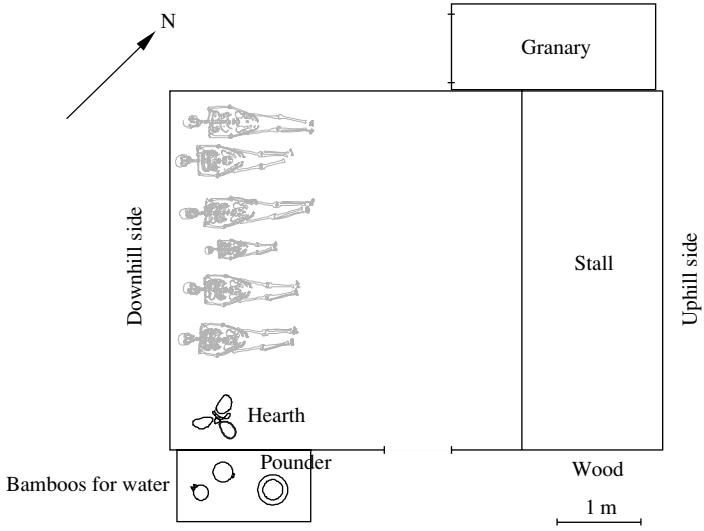


Figure 4.1 Interior of a house

The Japanese administration banned this custom. A cemetery was opened in Tebeʈebelan.[14] The first graves were simple mounds of earth marked by a stone, without any inscription. In the past twenty years, graves have started to look like those of the Chinese. But some families still bury their dead in their field on the mountainside, following the directions given by the Chinese geomancer's compass.

In 1983, there was about one death per month in the village. Half of the deaths were directly or indirectly due to alcohol. Taro, a 41-year-old man, had his skull split open by his drinking companion. Kinji's wife died from the effects of alcoholism at the age of 46. The mayor's son-in-law fell into the canal on his scooter while drunk. Kyotiang, aged about 40, was an alcoholic, losing a leg in her first scooter accident, and dying in the second. Siruku, a 40-year-old woman, was crushed by a lorry while riding her scooter.

As soon as there is a death in a house, the family must inform the ancestors, by burning incense and by covering the ancestral altar with two big winnowing baskets, *takaɖ*, to spare them from cries and tears.

Separation rites of the household of a dead person

In front of the bereaved family's house, a spear (*kutaŋ*) is planted, and a fire is lit: this is the death announcement. Whoever enters the house, or goes into a courtyard where there is a dead person, must submit to purification rites by water at the end of the funeral. The restless spiritual beings who struck down the dead person attach themselves to the living. The Puyuma do not forget that, formerly, cowards preferred to cut off a dead person's head rather than risk their own by confronting a living man. As the legend goes:

> Formerly, competitions were organised so that men could measure their great courage. But there was one man who lacked courage, 'What can I do to equal the others?' he thought. 'Right, I will look for a house where there is a dead man and trick the family. In order to take his head, I will tell the dead man's family that I knew him.' He went to weep on a deathbed. He entered the house and straight away began to sniff and cry. So the relations of the dead man wept with him. This man immediately thought of making off with the dead man's head. He quickly cut it off and ran away. When the relatives had finished weeping (we cover the face of a dead person with a napkin), they looked at the napkin covering the face, and discovered that the head had gone. They looked for the man, but to no avail. It is since this incident that we protect the dead. When a person dies, the family light a fire in front of the door and plant a spear in the middle.

Nowadays, the dead person is placed in a coffin, naked on a mattress made from his clothes, with a pillow and blanket of paper money. A crown of flowers is put on women's heads. The coffin is closed on an auspicious day determined by the Chinese calendar. A member of the family continuously burns paper money at the foot of the coffin. As long as the dead person remains in the house, he is known as 'he who does not know', *inulid*.[15] If the dead person was a famous or intelligent man, or simply reputed for some activity – for example, a good sower or a good hunter – his descendants perform the 'borrowing' ritual, *kiburas*. Holding an areca nut in their hands, they stroke his right hand, repeating the gesture three times, and the nut becomes filled with the dead person's gifts, which they transfer to their hearts.

The Buddhist monks take care of all the preparations, the coffin, digging the grave, transport, provisions of incense and paper money. They come round several times a day to recite prayers. Their services are paid for at an all-in rate of about twenty thousand yuan, at 1985 value.[16] An auspicious day for the funeral is determined with the aid of the Chinese calendar.

At an auspicious hour, the funeral procession sets off. On the way back from the cemetery, members of the family must pass through a smoking cord made from braided rice-straw, placed at the threshold of the house. The soul, *tinabawan*, becomes a spiritual being, *birua*, after death (see Chapter 3) – good or restless – which never crosses fire. The afternoon following the burial, the shamans, who cease all activity as soon as the death is announced, go to the river to purify themselves. They then take up their activities again. The next morning they perform the purification rites, *kisuap*, at the house of the dead person and his family. Several of them work together. (While a house is being built, a shaman must not take part in any rituals concerning death.) The kitchen is cleaned from top to bottom, the hearth scrubbed and the last possessions of the dead person are piled up in the courtyard; the dead man's spirit must be deprived of the desire to return and search for a personal possession. The shamans, with the aid of areca nuts and small fired clay beads, prepare a substitute body, *tinuʈaʈaw*, in a banana leaf. This figure is reproduced in the exact spot where the body was displayed, and takes care of the dead man's miasma. The shamans noisily strike sickles, requesting them to penetrate the leaf. The substitute body is wrapped in the leaf, and then placed in the courtyard with the other possessions.

The shamans make a bottle-brush, tying a 30 cm long stem of the small bamboo, *buɭu*, tipped by an arrow, to a branch of *Melia azedarach* and a rattle. All the people who assisted the family shut themselves up inside the house, and all the openings are carefully sealed, then the shamans, holding half a calabash in one hand and the bottle-brush in the other, liberally sprinkle the gathering. The shamans and the family go to the river to perform the ritual purification by water, the dead man's personal possessions are buried on the banks and will be swept away by the next floods. The family

purification ceremony may last a whole day, and even the lorry used to transport the family is purified.

Rites of reintegration into the community

The morning after the purification, the women of the household 'go to the fields', *ʈemali a uma*,[17] and the men go to the mountain 'to take the air', *kurbaɭibaɭi*.[18]

The women go to the fields, taking with them a meal of meat, rice and wine. The rice is cooked on three stones and offered to the earth. The oldest woman tastes three spoonfuls, followed by the younger women. If the family does not possess a field, or no longer has one, the ceremony takes place in the kitchen garden next to the house. Meanwhile, the men are 'taking the air'. They fish for crayfish in a mountain stream. They are usually accompanied by a male ritual specialist, and on the way home, he makes an altar from stones, *pualib*,[19] which is a barrier against restless spiritual beings who may still be following the men – the spiritual beings turn around it for ever. The men light a fire next to the little altar, and throw a stone into it, so that the dead man's spirit may attach itself permanently to this imperishable material. This ritual unites them with the group in mourning.

From this moment onwards, the women wear a mourning band reaching down to their eyes, and they are partially reintegrated into the community at the time of the annual *maŋayaw* cycle in December. On this feast day, families in mourning form a circle apart from the others. At the end of the meal, a widow(er) related by marriage to the person in mourning raises the band with a bamboo, places a crown of flowers on his head, and offers him cigarettes. The mourning period is over, and the individual joins the feast, but is still forbidden to sing and wear traditional costume. Matiang was freed from mourning for his wife by his wife's father's brother, himself a widower. This mourning period does not end until a few days after *maŋayaw*, when the village Elders come to sing the songs of sadness, *kalamanan*,[20] in the dead person's house. Reintegration into the village community is now accomplished. According to the date of death, some families wear mourning for nearly a year, and others for only a few weeks.

Kalamanan song

iɻub anudini ɖa kababaɭiyan	The great cold wind
ɖa tiwatiwan, ɖa barabarat	has invaded the house by the cracks and beams.
ɖua semuliʔaʔawan ɖua semuliyabaʔan	The sad hearts,
kan maidaŋ, kan malaɖam	of the Elders, the wise men
ɖua parbanbana, ɖua parwadəwada	have come to dispel sadness.
Nantu sinaɭunan, nantu sinadalan	The bed, the pillow

maitintin, maitebteb	of the boy with short hair
marasarubar, marasarinu	have already disappeared.
Tu kasanipai, tu kaʔalepai	He is in a deep sleep.
mataraturag, matararuma	The arrow in front of the house
makabarunu, munu dawai	makes sadder still
a mutiyareŋu, a mukalabat	the lifeless body of this simple man.
munu serebar, munu arbu	His body, his hair
mutaḷi ubir, mutaḷi udu	are quite dead.

Unfortunate deaths

The souls of those who have died by accident or by drowning and of women who have died in childbirth become restless *birua*, with a desire for revenge, who disturb their descendants. Unfortunate death is feared as much for the victim's soul as for the living. Buya from the Sapayan household, aged 35, was run over by a car on the Pinaski road as he returned home on his scooter. He left a wife and two young children. Buya was a male ritual specialist in charge of the house devoted to the ancestral cult of the Sapayan. The rites accompanying his death were therefore more complicated. After the burial, the family ate at the cemetery, and offered the dead man his share. The entire family spent the night in an improvised tent at the entrance of the village. The next day, a male ritual practitioner received the group at the village entrance. Each family member stepped over a ramie thread strung with seven small fired clay beads, and threw one behind them, thus clearly indicating that they were leaving the realm of the dead and beginning their reintegration into the village community. The family returned to their house, but could not enter it. The whole family ate and slept in the tent pitched in front of the house until the end of the purification rites and the recall of the soul.

The family had to wait for an auspicious day to recall the dead man's soul, and ask him the reasons for his unfortunate death. Four shamans lined up one behind the other, each with a hand placed on her companion's shoulder. They covered themselves with a large black cloth. The shaman Siawan was placed in front, and she embodied Buya's soul. The bamboo diviner Sumia designated her for this arduous and difficult role, since Sumia's wife was Siawan's sister, and both Buya and Siawan were Sapayan. The shamans waved their rattles, and implored the dead man to come and explain himself. The whole family called the dead man aloud, and the children called their father. When Siawan embodied the dead man's soul, she indicated it by changing the pitch of her voice and by groaning in pain. Buya's wife, in tears, clung on to the shaman and held her face against her own, asking her husband why he had left the house in this way. Buya groaned, but did not utter a single word. Buya's elder sister stood in front of Siawan, and asked the reason for Buya's death, if he bore hidden grudges

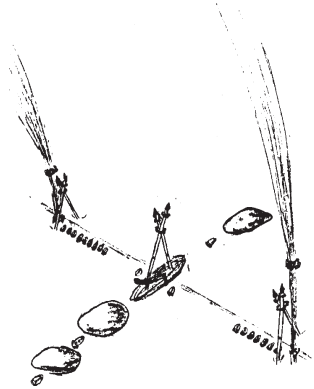


Figure 4.2 Foliage gateway (*ɭaɭekawaŋ*)

and if he had a wish to make. Buya's reply was not audible (the dead man's face had been completely crushed in the accident, so he no longer possessed the necessary speech organs). However, a few words could be made out: 'Look after my children.' Buya groaned in pain, as if speaking exhausted him. He left very quickly.

Siawan, exhausted, removed the black sheet, and expressed her dissatisfaction – the wife had been too close to her face and frightened Buya's soul, whereas Buya's elder sister, by standing in front of her, had blocked the soul's route. The ceremony was painful, and all the members of the family were crying, calling and talking at the same time. However, the conclusion was comforting, since Buya bore no grudges, and simply commended his children to the care of the family. As soon as the shamans had rested, they performed the purification of the tent. Everyone who had taken part in the funeral performed the second separation rite by crossing the threshold between the two worlds, symbolised by a gateway made of foliage, *ɭaɭekawaŋ*.[21] Once the tent had been purified, the entire family left by lorry, motorcycle and scooter for the river, to undergo purification by water. On their return from the river, the family entered the house for the first time since the funeral.

Several days later, on an auspicious day, the male ritual practitioner Gulum, chosen by the bamboo diviner Sumia, deconsecrated the ancestral cult house of the Sapayan. Buya's children were far too young to take charge of this place of worship. It is forbidden to destroy it, but the ancestors must be told that the rites will not be performed – perhaps temporarily, perhaps permanently. Ancestors must never be abandoned.

The final separation rite between the dead man and the living was *paɭuki*: brushing away the last miasmas of death clinging to the road and taking them to the cemetery, going via the outside of the village. Gulum

went to the hamlet of Kemiḍaenai situated along the river, to cut the branches of the shrub *Dodonaea viscosa*. Then, accompanied by his wife and the bamboo diviner, he went to the exact spot where Buya was killed. On a banana leaf, he outlined a substitute body, using areca nuts and fired clay beads. With the aid of two branches of the shrub cut into a fork, he turned the leaf and requested the last miasmas to take refuge in it. Once the rite was finished, the four participants went to the cemetery, not crossing the village, to place the figure there, thus reuniting body and soul. Once all the rites were accomplished, the family was reintegrated into the community. But they had to wait five years to recall the soul to the altar.

Recall to the altar of the soul of a victim of unfortunate death

A shaman places an areca nut on both shoulders and on top of the head of each occupant of the house, and then puts it on the altar. It enables the soul that will be placed on the altar to know each of its descendants. In front of the entry to the house, she sets up a table with incense, six bamboo beakers and a basin of water. The new arrival washes his face and hands, and drinks with his children. The shaman places three pairs of areca nuts on the ground (one shows the way, the other welcomes) to 'show the way' to the soul, *pakawaŋ*. The first pair is placed in the entrance, the second in the courtyard and the third near the door. The shaman and the sons, waving joss sticks, assemble at the gateway to the courtyard. They request the soul to enter its sons' house, as everything is ready for it, and everyone in chorus calls on the ancestor, louder and louder. As soon as the soul arrives, the shaman's voice breaks, and she steps slowly backwards, with the sons following her to the altar where the soul takes up residence and becomes an ancestor after wandering for five years.

5

FAMILY HORIZONS

Social organization is based on households derived from divisions of the six 'founding households', as mentioned before. The member of the family who stayed at home, in general the eldest daughter,[1] inherited the fields and the house, and was duty-bound to give a home to her younger brothers and sisters and their spouses. When the children became adults, the couples, by a normal process of segmentation in a non-unilinear descent group, separated. The plots of land were then shared out. But the brother or sister who, at the time of their marriage, had left the household to 'move in' with their spouse did not receive anything, even if they had worked on this land since adolescence. Nevertheless, from the 1930s onwards, a tendency towards virilocal residence developed. We witness a bilateral kindred, as in the ritual practices dedicated to ancestors, cognatic descent (ambilateral) and Generation–Hawaiian kinship terminology.

Today, young Puyuma make an effort to marry outside the group, especially non-Austronesians; however, formerly, village endogamy was strictly enforced, whereas the exogamy of moieties was respected. There were no preferences in marriage, but there were two principles, one forbidding union with a relative, including any first or second cousin, and the other prohibiting marriage between two descendants of brothers, as the saying goes: 'it is not right to marry two children of the same bone', *kurukaukak adi inaba markataguin nantu walak*. Bone symbolises the masculine contribution to procreation, in common with seed and urine, and flesh symbolises the feminine.

Relationships

Consanguinity: terminology

Terminology is of the generational kinship. Brothers and sisters are not distinguished from cousins, father and mother from uncles and aunts, children from nephews and nieces.

- *ama*: the term of address and reference for 'father' and maternal and paternal 'uncles', and for all men of the father's generation. For example, *me?nau ku kan nanku ama*, 'I have seen my father or uncle', and to the question 'which one?' the reply is either *inamali*, 'my father', or *temamataw X*, 'the father of X' (name of the eldest son).
- *inamali*: the term of reference, 'my father', 'my uncles' (paternal and maternal).
- *i temama*: the term of reference, 'your father', 'your uncles'.
- *i temamataw kan X*: 'X's father'. Not to be confused with the teknonymy *temamataw X*, 'father of X'.
- *ina*: the equivalent of *ama* for 'mother' and 'aunts' on both sides, and for all women of the mother's generation.
- *inanali*: the term of reference for 'my mother', 'my aunts', the equivalent of *inamali*.
- *i taina*: the term of reference 'your mother', 'your aunts', parallel to *i temama*. It is also a term used to address an elder, and represents a hierarchical relationship between mother and son (daughter), and older woman and younger (wo)man.
- *tainainayan*: the category of all women who have given birth. The term comes from *ta ina*, i.e. 'our mother(s)'.
- *i tinataw kan X*: 'X's mother'. Not to be confused with the teknonymy *tinataw X*, 'mother of X'.
- *?ba*: term of address, 'brothers, sisters, elder cousins', and in a wider context, all the 'elder' children of Ego's generation.
- *i?bali*: term of reference, 'my elder(s)'. Applied to all the elders of one's own generation. In reference, for elders who are not full siblings, the name of their household is used. More precisely, *tu walak kan inamali, temamataw Semaigay*, 'the child of my uncle, father of Semaigay'.
- *i?ba?u*: term of reference, 'your elder(s)'.
- *i?bataw kan*: term of reference, 'his elders(s)'.
- *wadi*: term of reference, 'all younger brothers/sisters'. As a form of address, the name is used.
- *wawadiyan*: brothers and sisters, elder, younger.
- *walak*: children.
- *kis*: term of address, 'son', but parents can also use his personal name.
- *tian*: term of address, 'daughter', but parents can also use her personal name.
- *imi*: term of address, only concerning women, for all relatives by marriage of the children's generation. For daughters-in-law and their sisters, and sons-in-law's sisters, but also for nephews' wives and their sisters. Nieces have to be situated, e.g. *tu walak kan ?bali*, 'the child of my elder brother'.
- *?mu*: term of address to relatives on both sides of the family from generations G + 2 and G – 2, in direct and collateral lines, without distinction

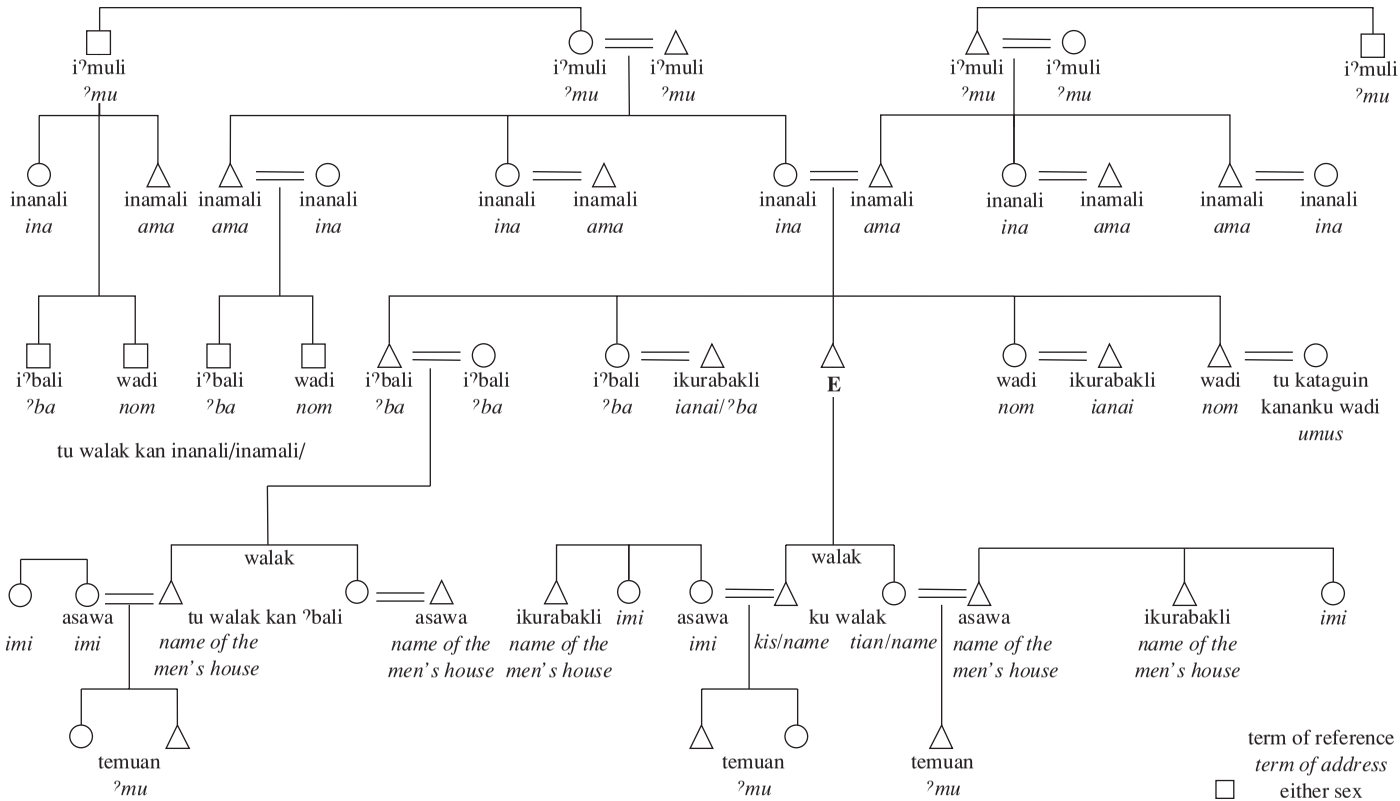


Figure 5.1 Ego's family

between the sexes, either grandparents (grandfather and collaterals) or grandchildren (grandson, granddaughter) and their collaterals. But, in general, the term concerns all persons of the corresponding generation. Grandchildren can be addressed by their names, but not the grandparents' generation.
- *iʔmuli*: term of reference, 'my grandparent(s)'.
- *temuamuan*: this term designates all forebears beyond the third generation.
- *temuan*: designates all children of the grandchildren's generation.

Distinction between the sexes applies only to G + 1 and G – 1 in the direct line of descent. For all other relations *na babayan*, 'the women', or *na maʔinayan*, 'the men', must be added.

Affines: terminology

- *kataguin*: the reciprocal term of reference for husband or wife, 'spouse'. When addressing them, one calls 'Hey!', followed by the teknonymy 'mother or father of X', *tinataw* or *temamataw* + the name of the first-born. It is impossible to use the personal name.
- *asawa*: the term of reference for the son-in-law or daughter-in-law.
- *imi*: the term of address, only concerning women, for all relations by marriage of the children's generation. For daughters-in-law and their sisters, and for sons-in-laws' sisters, but also for nephews' wives and their sisters. Nieces have to be situated, e.g. *tu walak kan ʔbali*, 'the child of my elder brother'.
- Name of the men's house: the term of address for sons-in-law, the son-in-law's brothers, the daughter-in-law's brothers, nieces' husbands, nephews etc., e.g. *Patapaŋ* or *Karunun*. The name of the men's house is abandoned as soon as the first child is born. In general, all men of the sons' generation are addressed by the name of their men's house.
- *sinki*:[2] the term of reference used for the fathers of sons' and daughters' spouses. When addressing them, it is preferable to use the tekonymy 'father of X' or simply 'elder/younger brother'.
- *siʔen*: the homologue of *sinki* for the mothers of sons' and daughters' spouses. Women will address each other preferably as 'mother of X'. If the mothers are friends of the same age, they can retain the reciprocal term of 'friend' *anai*, or more simply 'elder/younger sister'.
- *kurabakan*: the term of reference covering all relations by marriage of the male sex: sisters' husbands, wives' brothers, wives' sisters' husbands, brothers-in-law's or sisters-in-law's brothers.
- *ikurabakli*: the term of reference for 'my male relatives by marriage'. The terms *nanku kurabakan* or *ikurabakli* can be used indifferently.
- *ianai*: the term of address used by men for the husbands of their elder/younger sisters, for their wives' elder/younger brothers and for cousins

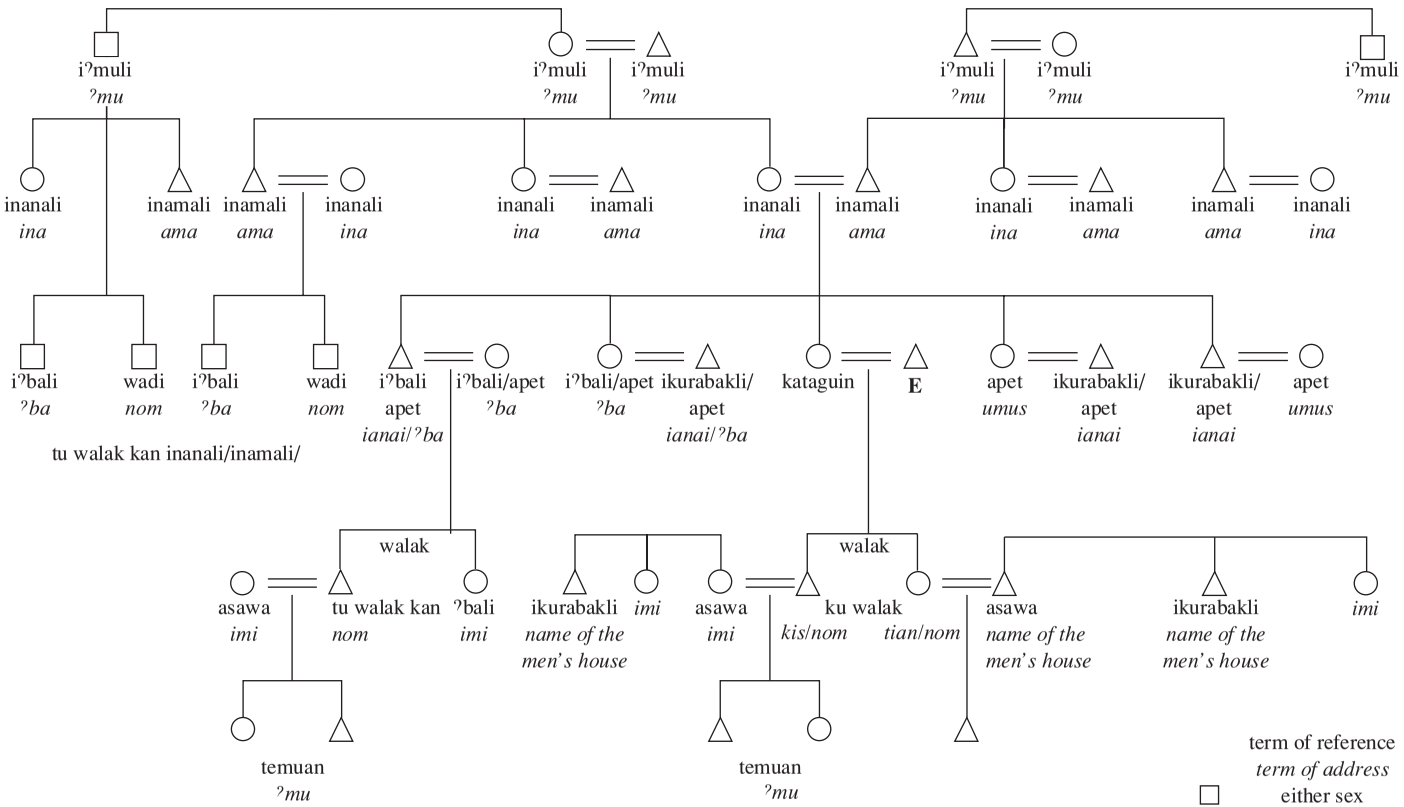


Figure 5.2 The spouse's family

and female cousins' husbands. This term only concerns the affines of Ego's generation.
- *umus*: the term of address for the wife's younger sisters, the wives of the husband's younger brothers, younger female cousins and the wives of first cousins.
- *anai*: not a term of relationship, it means 'female friend', and is used by two women of the same age.
- *ali*: not a term of relationship, it is used by older people to address younger people who are *apet*.
- *apet*: the term of reference for the spouses of the spouse's brothers and sisters.

In certain terms of relationship we note an irregularity in the first person singular, e.g. my father, *inamali*; my mother, *inanali*; my grandparents, *iʾmuli*; my elder brother, *iʾbali*; my relation by marriage, *ikurabakli*; my friend, *iŋiḍali*. For the other terms of relationship, the personal pronoun is *nanku*: *nanku wadi*, *nanku asawa*, *nanku imi* etc. According to Tsuchida (1995), this may be a borrowing from the neighbouring Rukai. The same form is found for your elder brother (*ibaʾu*), your grandparents (*itemuʾu*), your father (*i temama*) and your mother (*itaina*).

Marriages

Although consanguinity is defined from birth onwards, marriages are not determined until adulthood, but, in any case, are chosen from within the village, since we are in the presence of local endogamy, which causes the Puyuma to say: 'We are all related to one another.' All members of this village consider themselves as kinsmen. Marriage is monogamous.

As stated at the beginning of the chapter, there are no preferential marriages, but there are two principles, one forbidding marriage with a relation, including any first or second cousin, and the other prohibiting any union between two descendants of brothers, as quoted in the proverb. This rule was set out by Mabuchi (1974: 59): 'Extended incest taboos prevent unions with any first or second cousin.' However, as family trees show, the first rule is ignored when the common ancestors are two sisters or a brother and a sister, whereas the second is better respected. But the family trees show that there is a tendency to marry a second, third or fourth cousin. It is important that the household, *sarumaŋan*, names are different, which is nearly always the case, on account of the permutations brought about by 'moving in'. However, MacGovern (1922: 161) notes: 'But among the Ami, Piyuma, Tsarisen and Paiwan tribes marriage with the first cousin on the mother's side is absolutely forbidden.' Does this mean that marriage between first cousins on the father's side was permitted? Today, we note that the taboo is precisely directed at descendants of two brothers. Was

MacGovern given erroneous information? Have the rules changed? It is impossible to tell.

The children are attached to the household where the couple resided at the time of their birth. Case studies performed over four or five generations take into account 65 households, *sarumaŋan*, and 109 marriages. For G0 I note 27 marriages, 15 of which were between descendants of two sisters, who were either second or third cousins, and the other 12 between more distant relatives, and the later unions can be understood: 22 marriages, ten of which were between descendants of a brother and sister, and the 12 others between more distant relatives; 14 marriages, six of which were between the descendants of two brothers, with the other eight between more distant relatives. The other cases were exchanges between households, which, as far as I know, did not have any common ancestors in the past three or four generations.

In order to gain a better understanding of the way the Puyuma marry, I give several examples below, some of which have broken the 'rules', although they have not been subject to sanctions.

Marriage taboos respected: incest taboo

Let us return to the legend of the tribe's origin:

> We are told that once, Nunur, tossed by the waves, arrived on the shore where an *arenui* was growing. He clung on to the *arenui*, and, using all his strength, climbed up. To climb on to the beach, he clung on to the *arenui*, and used it as a walking stick. He planted the stick, planted this *arenui*, which sprouted, and this bamboo grew. It budded and burst. A woman, Pagemuser, and a man, Pakmalai, came out of it, as we are told. They were three, the father and the two children. 'I am going to search for our village', said the elder. He wandered here and there, and the elder got lost. That is when the brother and the sister slept together. A stone was born. Then they spread a mat on the ground, and cut a hole in this animal skin. The boy put his penis through the hole, that is how it happened.

The idea of incest exists, and is respected between members of the nuclear family; I have never heard of marriage between brother and sister, father and daughter, mother and son or grandparents and grandchildren.

Marriages where the taboo is slightly broken

I refer to a taboo in principle, since no sanctions are applied if it is broken. I know of no punishment, either moral (rejection by society) or physical (a fine or physical violence). The people concerned generally keep quiet about what they have done, and are referred to by the Puyuma as 'bad examples'.

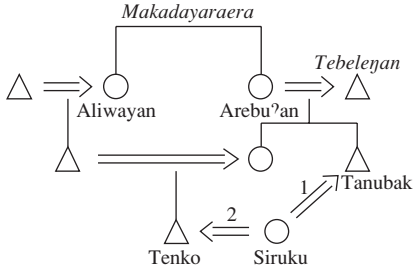


Figure 5.3 The *Makadayaraera* household

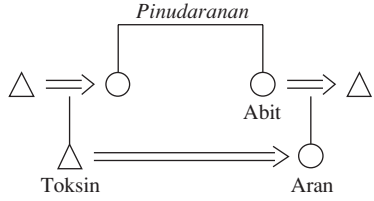


Figure 5.4 The *Pinudaranan* household

Marriages between first matrilateral parallel- or cross-cousins

Any first cousins are forbidden to marry, according to the rule. However, I have noted three cases (cases which are difficult to unearth).

In the *Makadayaraera*[3] household (see Figure 5.3), the first marriage took place about sixty years ago, when the two sisters Aliwayan and Arebuʔan married their children. Tenko was born, and married the widow, Siruku, of his maternal uncle. This case was reported to us by informants.

The second case was in the *Pinudaranan* household (see Figure 5.4), and is quite recent. The people concerned, aged 24 in 1984, had a one-year-old child. In this case, Aran's mother herself informed us of the marriage. Toksin is the youngest son of a family of eight children whose mother is dead, and Aran is the eldest daughter in a family of 11. The two sisters lived in two houses located in the same courtyard. Abit explained that it is difficult to keep an eye on all the children, who are 'like sweet potatoes', *kamawan ḍa binlukue*.

The third case is in the *Liʈun* household (see Figure 5.5). Yomue, a member of this household, mentions that her great-grandparents were first cross-cousins, *Bakabak* and *Dalialep*. We note that Tukaikai belonged to the *Bakabak* household, and she married Salibukuḷ from the *Dalialep* household. Yomue gives the following information: the name of Pasurairai from the *Dalialep*, and that of Bitunun from the *Bakabak*, and that they were first cousins. Yomue can only say that 'Pasurairai's father was, she heard, the brother of Bitunun's mother'. Yomue confirms that the couple often quarrelled with the other members of the family, and separated from them to found the *Liʈuŋ*[4] household. I have tried, without success, to find the trace of this couple elsewhere.

Marriages between any descendants of two brothers

See Figures 5.6, 5.7 and 5.8.

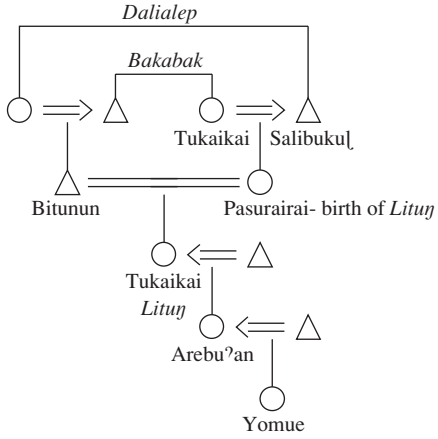


Figure 5.5 The *Dalialep* household

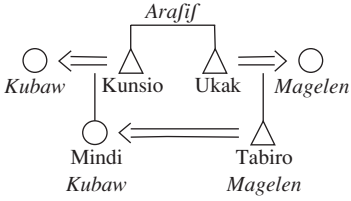


Figure 5.6 The *Arafif* household

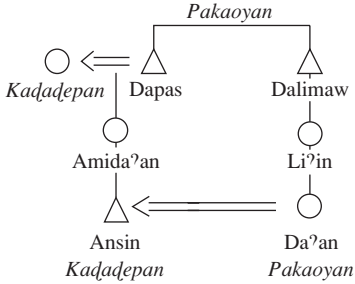


Figure 5.7 The *Pakaoyan* household

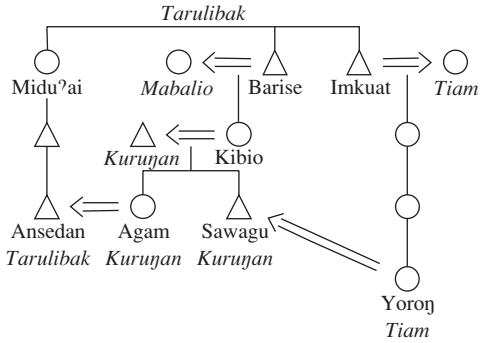


Figure 5.8 The *Tarulibak* household

'Bad examples'

The grandson of the chief Pinadai from the *Raera* household married his half-aunt (his mother's half-sister) (see Figure 5.9). Orumukan became his own mother's brother-in-law. The term of address to his mother did not change, *ina*. We know little about this case since it dates from the beginning of the nineteenth century. When we develop this genealogy, we discover the example of a couple whose forebears were half-siblings (see Figure 5.10).

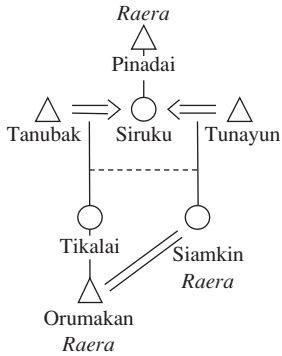


Figure 5.9 The *Raera* household (1)

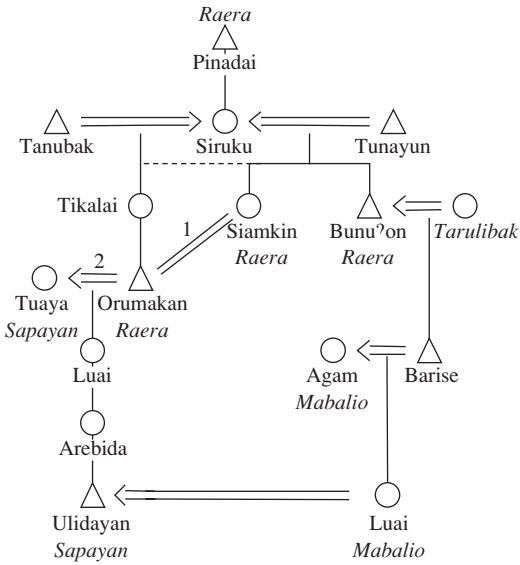


Figure 5.10 The *Raera* household (2)

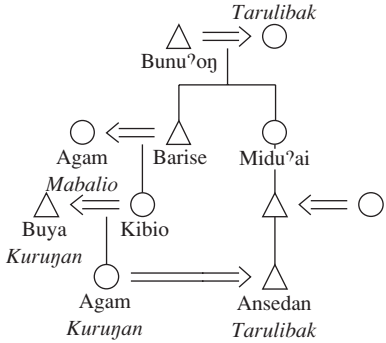


Figure 5.11 The *Tarulibak* household

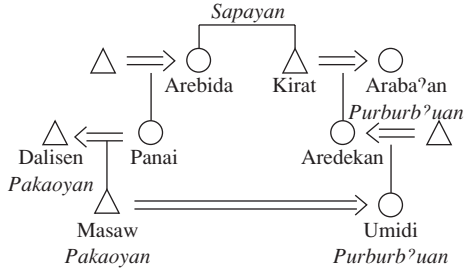


Figure 5.12 The *Sapayan* household

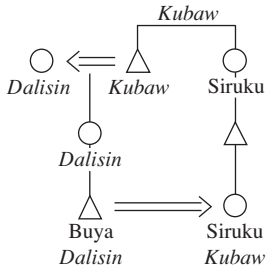


Figure 5.13 The *Kubaw* household

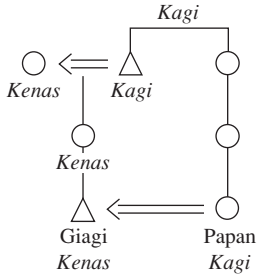


Figure 5.14 The *Kagi* household

Marriages where the taboo is very often broken (between second cousins)

Between descendants of a brother and sister

I will give just a few examples. The *Tarulibak* and *Sapayan* households are shown in Figures 5.11 and 5.12, respectively. The *Kubaw* and *Kagi* households are shown in Figures 5.13 and 5.14, respectively.

Between descendants of two sisters

In the *Pasaraʾaq̣* household, we note (Figure 5.15), in the first place, a marriage between two different generations. Then Masako married her third cousin, a perfectly legitimate husband, for they are descendants of two sisters. Finally, Aliwaki should have married his matrilateral cross-cousin Arumi, but the marriage did not take place because the two young people were eldest children (Aliwaki was in fact the second, but his elder sister had already left home).

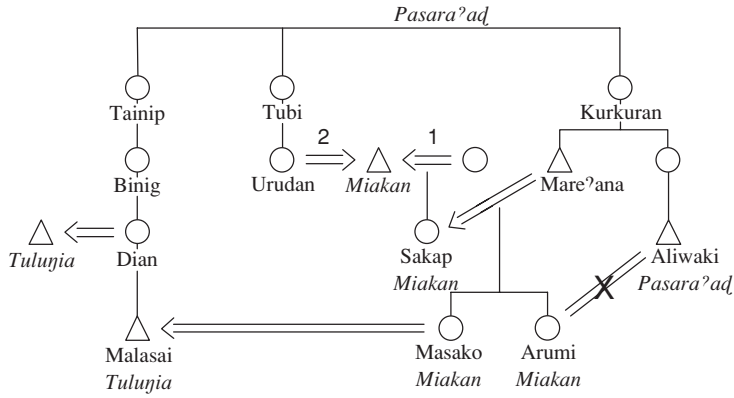


Figure 5.15 The *Pasaraʔaḍ* household

The cases presented above are forbidden because they concern unions between descendants having brothers and sisters in common two generations previously. But, in fact, for the Puyuma, only marriage of two descendants having two brothers in common, whatever the generation, is 'not good', whereas others, including between first matrilateral parallel- or cross-cousin or patrilateral cross-cousin are tolerated. Let us now return to the question of inter-generational marriages. We note, for the same generation, considerable age differences due to remarriages or numerous births, 'like sweet potatoes'. For example, in the wedding photograph, taken in 1928, of the oldest of the shamans, who was then aged 18, the young bride's mother can be see holding a baby a few months old; this mother who is marrying her 18-year-old daughter has, herself, just married a 'virile-warrior'. If generation differences do not appear to be a problem, what about social attitudes? All relationships are dictated by age-sets, and in that case, the two men, the mother's husband and the bridegroom, were 'virile-warriors'. They, then, used the name of their men's house.

In Figure 5.16 we note that Buya, aged 35, and his father-in-law Umue are of the same generation. Umue is 65, and therefore belongs to the age-set of the Elders. We often find that, at the time of his daughter's marriage, the father is already dead, and that the new bride moves in with her husband. In this case, we note that the eldest daughter, Liŋa, is a *Talawi*, whereas the youngest son, Buya, is a *Pasaraʔaḍ*, so the parents changed residence between the births of the eldest child, Liŋa, and the youngest, Buya.

The *Kubaw* household is shown in Figure 5.17.

There is another case in the *Pasaraʔaḍ* household (see Figure 5.18). The relationship between the two brothers-in-law Aliwaki and Kilawis remained unchanged, and the terms of address were 'elder brother' and 'younger brother'.

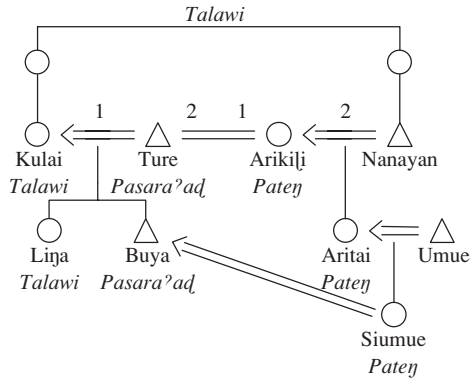


Figure 5.16 The *Talawi* household

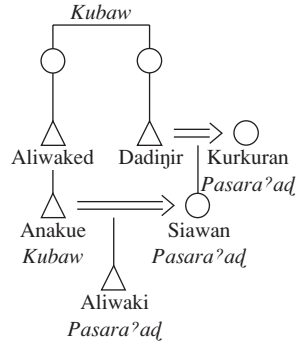


Figure 5.17 The *Kubaw* household

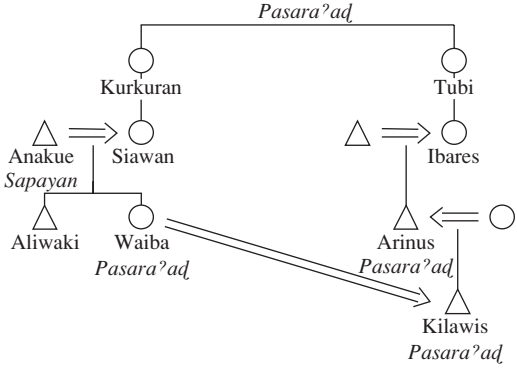


Figure 5.18 The *Pasaraʔaḍ* household

The 'unspoken rule'

It is now necessary to understand that this prohibition in principle (not to marry any first or second cousin), too often broken, is in fact an 'unspoken rule', permitted by 'moving in'. For example, in Figure 5.13, Siruku, a *Kubaw* girl, married Buya, a *Dalisin*, and their grandparents were brother and sister. But Buya's maternal grandfather 'moved in' with a *Dalisin* woman, his daughter was *Dalisin*, and Buya is as well. Siriku's grandmother and her father remained with the *Kubaw*, so she was a *Kubaw*. Sometimes exchanges become complicated, involving three or four households, as shown in Figure 5.11. Ansedan, a *Tarulibak* man, married Agam, a *Kuruŋan*, their grandparents were brother and sister in the *Tarulibak* household. But the brother 'moved in' with a *Mabalio* woman, and their daughter, Kibio, entered the household of her husband, a *Kuruŋan*; their daughter, Agam, was therefore a *Kuruŋan*. In general, we note that marriage consists in 'letting a member in' to a household that, earlier, 'let one out'. In the case of the *Kubaw* (Figure 5.13) the grandfather was 'let out' to go to the *Dalisin*, who sent back Buya two generations later. The case of Ansedan concerns not only the *Tarulibak* and the *Mabalio*, but also the *Kuruŋan*. Conversely, there are cases in which – as far as my personal investigations are concerned – it is impossible to complete the exchange. For example (Figure 5.14), Papan, a *Kagi* woman, married Giagi, a *Kenas*; their grandparents were brother and sister in the *Kagi* household. In this case, two Kagi were 'let in' to the *Kenas*. Anakue's marriage to his matrilateral parallel-cousin Siawan (Figure 5.17) moved him from the *Kubaw* to the *Pasaraʾaḍ.* Siawan's father, Dadiŋir, was let into the *Pasaraʾaḍ.*

Each household has examples of marriages between cousins, and the establishment of a family tree confirms that an 'unspoken rule' exists. Take the case of the *Pasaraʾaḍ* (see Figure 5.21), where husbands and wives bear the same household name, for example, Migil and Senadan, both *Pasaraʾaḍ*, like Kilawis and Waiba, but these cases are rare. In general, the practice of 'moving in' gives a new name to the children, such as Malasai and Masako, Gariagai and Miama. We note that a *Pasaraʾaḍ* woman, Ituŋ, 'moved in' with the *Pakaoyan*, and it was then that Emud, a *Pakaoyan*, was let into the household of Bantiaŋ, a *Pasaraʾaḍ.*

Exchanges

The studies performed show, in the cases cited above, not only that marriages take place preferably between second, third and fourth matrilateral parallel- or cross-cousins and patrilateral cross-cousins, but also that households take part in exchanges. I repeat that my own investigations have not always enabled me to give a satisfactory account of these exchanges, or complete family trees, on account of missing or unrevealed information.

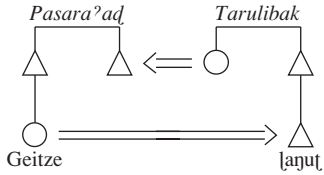


Figure 5.19 Exchanges between the *Pasaraʾaḍ* and *Tarulibak* households

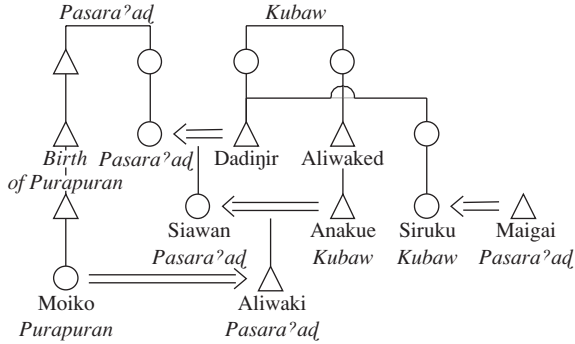


Figure 5.20 Exchanges between the *Pasaraʾaḍ* and *Kubaw* households

In certain unions there do not seem to be any common ancestors, and I have only been able to ascertain exchanges between households, some of which are direct, as in the case of young Geitze, a *Pasaraʾaḍ* girl, who fell in love with Lanuṭ, a *Tarulibak*. The girl's family refused Lanuṭ, since this boy was older than their eldest son, who would thus risk losing his birthright. However, this refusal was followed by the birth of a child, so Geitze married her lover. If we make a careful study of past unions, we notice that in the preceding generation, Geitze's father's youngest brother had married a *Tarulibak*. A *Tarulibak* woman was 'let into' the *Pasaraʾaḍ*, Geitze was 'let out', and then 'let into' the *Tarulibak* household (see Figure 5.19).

If we take a look at the case in Figure 5.20, we see that two *Kubaw* men, Dadiŋir and Anakue, 'moved in' with the *Pasaraʾaḍ*. If we complete this genealogy, we notice that Siruku, Dadiŋir's sister's daughter, and therefore a *Kubaw*, admitted a *Pasaraʾaḍ* into her household. We notice as well that Anakue and Siawan are second cousins and that Moiko and Aliwaki's great-grandfathers were brother and sister.

In certain cases, the genealogical depth is insufficient, and the protagonists do not seem to possess common ancestors such as in the case of Geitze

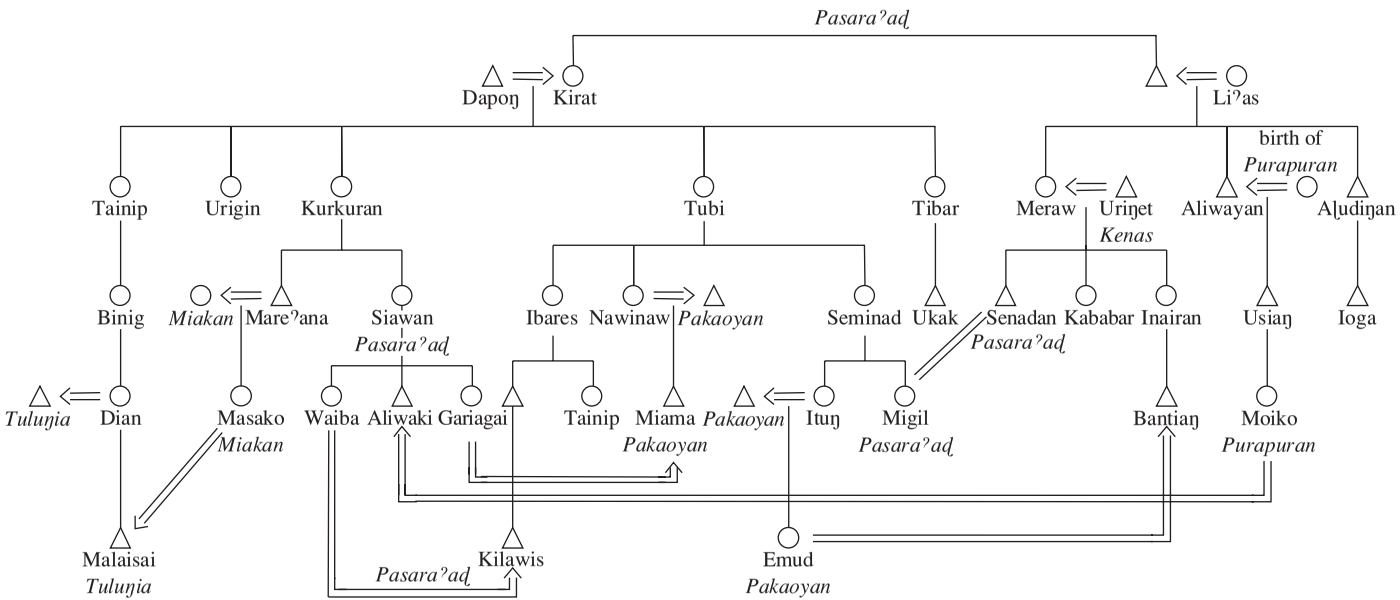


Figure 5.21 The *Pasaraʾaḍ* household

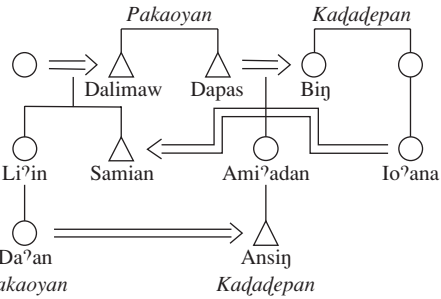


Figure 5.22 Exchanges between the *Pakaoyan* and *Kaḍaḍepan* households

and Lanuṭ. But I assume that as soon as a union is achieved, it may be noted that it leads to another in the following generations. In Figure 5.22 (which completes Figure 5.7) we see a *Pakaoyan*, Dapas, 'moving into' the *Kaḍaḍepan* household, and, in the following generation, a woman, Io'ana, from this household, 'moving in' with the *Pakaoyan*, then, in the next generation, a *Pakaoyan* woman, Da'an, 'moving in' with the *Kaḍaḍepan*; their grandfathers were brothers. The material available is incomplete, but, at the present stage of my research, I can affirm that there exists an 'unspoken rule' regarding the preferred choice of a wife, i.e. any second, third or fourth cousin on the mother's side, or a cross-cousin on the father's side. One marriage opens up another, with a certain time lag. These procedures are reminiscent of the semi-complex marriages foreseen by Lévi-Strauss, and described, especially in Africa, by F. Héritier (1990), and are characterised by the absence of a prescriptive partner and by the elective expression of taboos. One might think that old people memorised past marriages and noted the descendants, but it appears that they did not transmit their knowledge to the young people whom they joined in marriage. For example (see Figures 5.20 and 5.21), Aliwaki[5] did not know that his maternal great-grandmother was the sister of his wife's paternal great-grandfather. Certain informants know that they had an ancestor in a certain household, without being able to retrace the genealogy: 'I come from such-and-such a household', they repeat, without giving any further explanation.

In Figure 5.23 we see that a man from the *Baduk* household had 'moved in' with the *Kaḍaḍepan*, and, two or three generations later, a *Kaḍaḍepan* woman 'moved in' with the *Baduk*.

In the case in Figure 5.24, not only are the couple the second- and third-generation descendants of two sisters, but a man from the *Pakaoyan* household 'moved in' with the *Balaŋato*, who sent back a woman in the following generation.

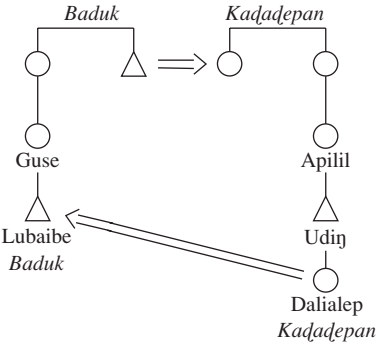


Figure 5.23 Exchanges between the *Baduk* and *Kaḍaḍepan* households

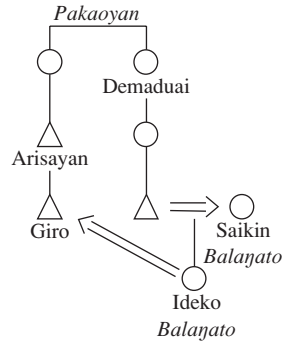


Figure 5.24 Exchanges between the *Pakaoyan* and *Balaŋato* households

Inheritance

When separation takes place in the normal course of segmentation, the land is divided up and each couple receives a plot of land. Brothers and sisters who leave the house to marry do not receive anything. Mabuchi (1976: 99) writes: 'However, not only are important properties, even including immovable ones, often inherited patrilineally, but patrilocal marriage is also not rare.' Brothers and sisters living together manage in common the inheritance that is shared out at the time of division. If a son is living in the house, he receives his share. If he is the eldest son, he emerges as the manager of the inheritance, but the division is decided in common. The *Purapuran* household consists of the eldest daughter, Belio, three sisters, Moiko, Diosan and Misko, and a brother, Tominaga. The eldest sister remained at home, and Moiko and Diosan 'moved in' with their parents-in-law. Only the youngest daughter, Misko, remained with her elder sister and the unmarried brother. After several years of marriage, Misko and her husband left to set up home in his household, the *Paḷegi*. It was decided to give some land to this youngest daughter. Moiko and Diosan, on the other hand, received no share. In choosing to reside with their husbands, the two girls lost rights in their *sarumaŋan*'s land; in remaining with their husbands' *sarumaŋan*, they had forfeited these rights for themselves and their heirs in perpetuity. This question of inheritance has given rise to ill-feeling among the husbands of these women.

Let us remember that the Puyuma practised horticulture and slash-and-burn agriculture and that only women tilled the fields. They did away with the need for permanent tenure, and uxorilocal residence rules then developed. But with the prohibition of hunting, farming was taken over by men, and under the stress of land distribution problems residence became patrilocal, following the Chinese pattern.

Filiation

A household consists of heterogeneous elements. The children belong to the household where they are born. In general, they know their forebears: we hear 'it is a *Pasaraʔaḍ* household', or 'I live on *Pasaraʔaḍ* land, so I am a *Pasaraʔaḍ*.' In changing residence, elder and younger children lay claim to different identities. For example, Kariagai, a *Tabeleŋan* girl, 'moved in' with her husband, a *Purapuran*. A few years later, the couple 'moved in' with the *Tabeleŋan*, and the two elder sons are *Purapuran*, but the youngest is a *Tabeleŋan*. As the villagers say, 'I am a *Purapuran*, my mother came to live with my father.' In short, the children take their affiliation in accordance with the residence of their parents. It appears to be the rule that if a person's parents reside patrilocally, he belongs to his father's *sarumaŋan*, but if they reside matrilocally he belongs to his mother's. Membership is determined by parental residence rather than sex. As Goodenough (1955: 75) writes, 'This membership principle is, of course, tailor-made for societies practising bilocal residence.' In general, individuals know the ancestors of the house in which they live, whereas it is more difficult to remember the genealogy of the parent who 'moved in'. The child drops active connection with the 'moved in's' kin and becomes incorporated and absorbed into his or her *sarumaŋan* and the organisation to which he or she belongs. It seems that this ignorance is maintained by the Elders, who do not want the young to know that they are the descendants of siblings. If an individual is not familiar with the family of the parent who 'moved in', it is none the less true that he knows that he 'comes from there', and, in this capacity, he participates in the rites performed by this household, and honours the ancestors on both sides.

Variations in marriage and their impact on gender status

Father de Mailla wrote in 1715 to Father de Colonia (de Mailla 1781: 45):

> Their (the islanders') marriages have nothing barbaric about them. Women are not bought, like in China, and no attention is paid to wealth that may be acquired on one side or the other, as is often the case in Europe; the mothers and fathers have very little say in the matter. When a young man wishes to marry, and he finds a girl who pleases him, he goes to her door several days running with a musical instrument: if the girl likes it, she comes out and joins the man who seeks her, and they come to an agreement. Then, they notify their mothers and fathers, who prepare the marriage feast, which takes place at the bride's house, where the young man stays without going back to his father. From then onwards, the young man regards his father-in-law's house as his own, and he must support the family, whereas he considers his own father's house in the same way

> as a girl does in Europe, when she leaves her father's house to live with her husband. Thus, these people do not greet the birth of a male child with joy, but hope to have girls, who will provide them with sons-in-law to support them in their old age.

Father de Mailla noted that there was no 'bride-price', and that young people married freely. With the passing centuries, customs changed, but love matches, although rare, existed, and everyone has memories of an uncle or a neighbour going to play the Jew's harp outside the house of his beloved.

Marriage until the 1920s

In 1885, Taylor mentioned that the Puyuma lived in a village surrounded by stockades. The village did not admit any outside presence. Two examples of marriages show a slight opening up from the 1930s onwards. One case is that of the first Taiwanese to marry a Puyuma girl, who had to take his wife to live in his Confucian Chinese family since he was not allowed to move into the village. When the first child was born in 1920, the young Puyuma mother returned to her family to present her son; she stayed there, and the child was brought up by her mother and sister. A few years later, another Taiwanese married a Puyuma girl, and the couple gave birth to Akuam, the hunter, in 1935. Akuam is proud to say that his father spoke Puyuma, and that he 'smelled like a Puyuma', *arepuyupuyuma*. We note that in the 1920s, the Taiwanese had to take his wife to his own family, although she came home to raise her child, whereas in the 1930s the Taiwanese husband came to live in the village, but was obliged to become integrated into it. The transformation and opening up process really took place after the Second World War, especially after the arrival of the nationalist Chinese in 1949.

Before that period, women ruled the domestic universe and tilled the fields; they looked after possessions and represented stability. At the end of the nineteenth century, Imbault-Huart (1893: 253) gave an account of this situation: 'They grow only enough grain to last them from one season to the next, and do not keep any in reserve. They leave much land fallow. The women do all the chores and work in the fields; they are often seen bent over the ground, weeding or picking potatoes, with their children strapped to their backs.' The men devoted themselves to hunting, and practised ritual head-hunting. They moved between the village and the mountains. They were eternal travellers, knocking at the doors of their homes – in general their wives' homes – before entering, where they felt they were 'just under the soles of their feet', *i daduas*, and where they had no power, or so they said. Malte-Brun (1809: 354) and Girard de Rialle (1885: 75), quoting from Valentyn's memoirs (1726: 33–93), wrote: 'They do not go into their wives' lodgings without first informing them; but when they are fifty years old, they can live with them.' Bachelors stayed in the men's houses.

The division of tasks may be summarised as follows:

Men	*Women*
Hunted	Worked in the fields
Guarded the village	Fetched wood and water
Protected the women while they worked in the fields	Gathered crops
	Brought up children
Drove away enemies	Cooked
Prepared their hunting expeditions in the men's house	Brought breakfast to the men's house at 3 a.m.

Elderly women, however, had different views of this division of labour. For a few women, men were idlers who spent their time in the men's house weaving, embroidering and making weapons, or on the mountain hunting; for the majority they were brave, confronting enemies and ensuring the safety of the village. However, all my elderly informants insisted on the virility of their husbands, and were delighted to talk about their satisfactory sex life. Despite the drudgery of their lives, they had great freedom in their homes, which they shared with their sisters and sometimes a few sisters-in-law. There still exists a household of this kind, consisting of women. The tyrannical old father is dead, and the widowed mother and her blind sister spend their time chatting while they peel vegetables; the eldest daughter married a very quiet mainland Chinese, the second is divorced, the son is a peasant who spends all his time in the fields and his wife has opened a hairdressing saloon in the house; the unmarried son is in prison. This man-free house is full of women's joyful laughter.

Marriages were organised by the parents or by the council of Elders at the end of the annual ceremonial cycle of *maŋayaw*. Informants tell us that the old men gathered in the men's house, where they formed the council, *benulu* (< *bulu*: to throw). For unmarried girls, they looked for a young man whose bravery had been noticed in the mountains. Once their choice was made, they put together a bunch of dried betel leaves, tied together with a wild betel root, and went to the girl's house. If her parents were absent, they left the bunch on the girl's bed. If the boy liked the Elders' choice, his parents would go directly to the chosen bride's home, and if she did not agree, the Elders would hide a wild betel root at the foot of the water jar where she drew water every day. The villages can remember a few suicides, the most famous of which took place between 1915 and 1920. A 'virile-warrior' of the *Butul* household was in love with Muya, a *Kubaw*, but the young man's parents had another intended bride for him. He went to a field in the hamlet of Are'a, where he shot the zebu that was to be given in exchange for his wife on their wedding day, then killed himself. Muya married, but never had children.

Father de Mailla (1781) noticed that men moved in with their wives' families, and Mabuchi (1976: 99) wrote, 'but the frequency of patrilocal marriage may have been approximately one-third of the total cases of marriage in the prewar period, if we rely on the impressions of various informants', which corroborates the curve that I drew for the village in 1983–4. It may be noted that the uxorilocal trend declined from 91 per cent in 1905 to 70 per cent in the pre-war years, and 5 per cent in the 1980s.

The Japanese colonisation crisis, and society from the 1930s onward

The Japanese colonial administration, that arrived in 1895 forbade hunting, including ritual head-hunting, and religious practices, including shamanism. However, it appears that head-hunting expeditions continued until the 1920s: an informant born in 1910 remembers seeing head-hunters returning from an expedition when he was a teenager, and shamanistic rites are still very much in existence. The Japanese imposed fatigue-duties and schooling in Japanese. The process of change speeded up after the Japanese administration moved the village in 1929. It was at this time that the Japanese permitted the rebuilding of the two boys' houses, but only one men's house for each moiety (see Chapter 6).

Until the arrival of the Japanese on the island, the lives of the Puyuma were entirely oriented towards the northern mountains; the group lived by horticulture, hunting and gathering. Imbault-Huart (1893: 244) noted that 'There is very little cultivated land, since the very nature of the ground forbids it, quite apart from the fact that the savages are averse to working in the fields; they are not farmers, but rather hunters, both by taste and by necessity.' The Puyuma express their ideological relationship with their environment in the following way: 'It is the mountain that rises towards man, whereas in the plains, it is man that bends towards the earth.' But after the prohibition of hunting, farming took a more important place in the economy. The men's houses no longer played their role as meeting places where the men prepared their weapons for hunting and educated young men aged 18–21, who were in a transitional period. The men abandoned their hunting and warlike activities, which represented the 21–50 age-set of 'virile-warriors'. The men, unoccupied, fell back into the women's sphere of the fields and the house. They began to cultivate the land, albeit without much enthusiasm. This activity is not valorised, as Imbault-Huart emphasises.

In this way, the uxorilocal trend declined, giving more importance to virilocal residence. With the considerable growth of farming, land gained in value.

Let us now consider the results of these transformations. Exchanges, *pakasu*, continued to be made, consisting of areca nuts, sticky rice cakes and rice beer, to seal the marriage agreement, and on the wedding day, whatever the choice of residence, the family welcoming a new member gave the other party a zebu, decked with rattles, and objects such as mats. In the former

society, certain families waited for the birth of the first child before giving the zebu. Marriages were always arranged by preceding generations, and/or by the Elders, but resistance increased and suicides became more frequent. If the parents on both sides accepted the *benulu*'s choice, despite their children's refusal, the young couple were shut up together all night in a room, and the next morning were declared married. This was when some of them committed suicide. Toyoko, remembered today as the most beautiful girl in the village, married a man from the neighbouring Puyuma village, Katipul, since that was her parents' choice. But Toyoko was in love with Kimtiang, and her love was reciprocated. She spent her wedding night with her husband in Katipul, then on the second day, as was the custom, returned to her family for the *patiltil* ('showing') ceremony. Toyoko certainly did 'show' them – she showed her disagreement by committing suicide (she swallowed fertiliser).

The young husband who arrived at his in-laws' house brought with him his clothes, and, as always, his saw, his big knife and later a plough, but in future he had to work in the fields. The Puyuma remember what parents-in-law would say to their lazy son-in-law: *ɖua yu musabaka kadi, amanai nu kinasu, nu kasuyaw nu buʈu*, 'you have come in here, and what have you brought? Your balls!' Informants confess that, as sons-in-law, they were not very keen to employ their productive force for their mother-in-law; if they were divorced, they left for the men's house with only their personal belongings, and were not entitled to any compensation for their years of work. The husband of Saikin, born in 1927, is an example of these men who did not become integrated into their wife's home. When she was 15, Saikin worked for the Japanese in Taitung, and was brought home on the pretext that her mother was ill. A husband, Tukida, from the *Pakaoyan* household, was waiting for her, but she refused him. The shamans performed the *purinakep* ceremony, 'to attract', and Saikin married Tukida. They had five children. Tukida was lazy, he 'insulted' her and borrowed money, and she had to sell all her fields to pay his debts. He then disappeared for eight years with a mistress. Saikin divorced him and became a Catholic.

Hard-working husbands, however, were made much of by their parents-in-law and young women lost the freedom their mothers used to have. The husband not only contributed to the economy of the home, but lived there full-time. The husband's behaviour became domineering, sometimes brutal. Today, the widows of these men are happy, and do not conceal their joy at being alone, repeating that they are no longer 'insulted'.

Women who moved in with their husbands fared no better. They brought only their clothes and a few quilts, whereas the husband had to give the traditional zebu. We may cite the case of Moiko, a *Purapuran* woman, aged 24, married to Aliwaki, a *Pasaraʔaɖ*, who had attained the status of 'virile-warrior'[6] a year previously, so he was 22. Aliwaki's elder sister had already left home. He had been an orphan since the age of 16, and lived with his maternal grandfather, his maternal aunt, and his three younger brothers

and sisters (see Figure 2.2). On the day of the ceremony, he took his zebu decorated with flowers and rattles, the wild betel root and two mats to his wife's home. He came back alone, walking in front, while she trotted along behind with her girl friends and family. She brought her clothes, a wardrobe, and a sewing machine. Tradition was respected, and she was given no fields. For many months, he called his wife 'elder sister'. She refused a husband whose mother was known for her weaknesses – she had given birth to a daughter by her first husband, Aliwaki by a Taiwanese lover, a third child by a Puyuma lover and three other children by her second husband. Moiko remembered how happy she had been in her childhood home, where she took part in festivals, sang, danced and worked with her sisters. Moiko arrived in a new home where she had to submit to the demands of the shrewish aunt and the old grandfather, and take charge of the three teenagers. It was a heavy burden to take on so suddenly, and she often cried. She became pregnant, and her husband left for a four-month period of military service. During his absence, she worked twice as hard, thinking that if she obeyed orders, her situation would improve when her husband came back, but, alas, this was not the case. Three years later, the aunt's family split up, and the younger brothers and sisters got married and moved into their spouses' homes. Over the years, Moiko gave birth to five children. She no longer went out, or sang, and never went home to see her sisters, but worked. She worked in the fields, coming home to look after the children, cook and do the washing. Moiko was submissive and terrified. Today, Moiko is nearly 70, and continues, out of fear and habit, to get up at 5 a.m., go to the paddy fields, bring up her grandchildren and take charge of the house. She does not visit her widowed sisters. Aliwaki, sitting in the shade of a tree, admires his wife – he likes to see her winnowing rice and picking sweet potatoes, and proudly says that she 'works well'. He shouts for her, and she crosses the courtyard to give him the betel basket placed on the table next to him. She is a 'good wife', since 'she never answers back, not like some other wives'. 'Moiko must work because she brought nothing[7] to the marriage', say the village women. Moiko tilled the fields while her husband harboured a grudge. Even today, he curses his wife's family for not giving her any land, whereas she had worked all her youth in her home; he sees his marriage not in the context of the past, but by today's standards.

The new society gave husbands an authority over their wives they had not previously enjoyed, and, at the same time, wives lost the freedom that they speak of today with nostalgia.

The situation since 1950, or the impact of the arrival of the Nationalist Chinese

With the arrival of the mainland Chinese in 1950,[8] society underwent a second external crisis. Over the years, the group adopted patrilocal residence and

patrilineal descent, copied from the Chinese system (uxorilocal residence represents only 2 per cent today). The last two men's houses disappeared, with only one remaining in the centre of the village, together with a boys' house, thus destroying the dual structure. This living space, assembly point and focus of male identity fell into disuse. To start with, men worked in their wives' fields, then, with the advent of patrilocal residence, their own.

Let us consider the case of Irubai, aged 40 in 1997. Her parents boast of their son-in-law's courage, saying 'Let him come, alone, what does it matter, let him come with his strength'. The in-laws are happy to have extra labour. Young men no longer balk at farming the land. Although they were married in the traditional way, the couple have developed together. Minoru is a peasant, whose zeal for work is obvious to everyone. At the beginning of their married life, the couple shared the house with Irubai's parents, her elder brother, his wife and their three children. When the two couples' children were old enough to get married, Irubai's parents divided up the land and each couple occupied a new household, with the parents living with the eldest son. Irubai, after spending many years as a shaman, started going with her husband to the fields. She is a reputed shaman, since she is in contact with 'strong' spiritual beings. She used to 'work' every day, and sometimes at night. Exhausted, she twice attempted suicide during the 1990s. Minoru decided to spend some time with his wife, who was so frail. Frequently, during her shamanistic rites, Irubai would involuntarily enter the supernature. Minoru would hurry to assist her, since the 'return' is a dangerous ordeal. He then decided she should spend several days a week with him in the fields, so she divided her time between her 'job' as a shaman and farm work. Irubai's marriage is a happy one. She no longer lives like her mother since she spends much of her leisure time with her husband. She has found freedom and happiness different from those of her ancestors.

Hanako, aged 75, is, like Irubai, a wife and a shaman. When she was 15, she married Tusan, who was seven years older than her. Their first child was born three years later, followed by a second. Hanako fell ill, she 'lacked energy'. Tusan took a mistress, a young girl. There was no cause-and-effect relationship in this, says Hanako, since Tusan's girlfriend was pleasant, and worked in the fields with Hanako's husband. Tusan was kind, and did not 'insult' his wife. They did not have sexual relations 'because I was ill, so he had sex with his mistress', she says. At the age of 29 she became a shaman, recovered her health and started working in the fields again. One evening, on her return from work, she involuntarily 'entered the supernature', and became pregnant after several years of sterility. Tusan left his girlfriend when his third child was born, following his mother's advice. Today, Hanako is a widow, is happy and bears no grudge against her late husband, 'who was kind because he did not insult her'. The careers of these two women, both wives and shamans, are similar, but times have changed. When things

became difficult, Tusan turned away from his wife and took a mistress, whereas Minoru stayed with his wife.

The 1950s were a decisive turning point in the lives of the Puyuma. Marriages were still arranged by families, but increasing numbers of young people refused to accept the Elders' decision. The story of Toyoshi, a *Pakaoyan*, who married at the end of the 1950s, has a happy ending. He tells us that the *benulu* had chosen a wife for him, but he was in love with a girl from the Puyuma village of Apapolo, and the girl chosen for him was already being courted by another 'virile-warrior'. The parents of the two young people refused to follow the advice of the *benulu*, even though it insisted, since Toyoshi was going to leave the village to live in Apapolo with his wife.

Puyuma marriage, with its variations, was disappearing, to give way to different forms, such as 'love matches' or 'marriage with the Minkuk', and finally became a copy of Chinese marriage, with a 'bride-price'.

Gradually, arranged marriages declined, although in most cases a marriage proposal had to be respected. It was at this time that the young 'virile-warrior' would visit the girl's parents, revealing his sentiments in metaphoric language; for example, 'I love your flower', 'In your house, there is a beautiful flower', 'I would like you to give me the beautiful flower from your house'. If the parents were attentive to the young lover's words, they contacted his parents. The young man old enough to marry, the 'virile-warrior', could also declare his love by playing the Jew's harp in the evening under his loved one's windows. The girl thus courted chose either to follow her admirer to or ignore the serenade.

The Jew's harp has disappeared, as have the metaphors. Young people today are much more realistic and the Puyuma look for salaried spouses. According to Mabuchi (1974: 59), 'Marriage is monogamous and involves no significant bride-price', but when men started working on the land they represented a workforce, and families did not 'let out' their sons so easily, which is when a price was first mentioned for the fiancé. When Adaw, a *Tulunia*, married, his wife's household, the *Tarulibak*, paid the *Tulunia* 5,000 yuan to 'let the boy out'.

This phase gave way to contemporary marriage with a 'bride-price'. Today, marriage is Chinese-style, with a few differences. In general, there are no matchmakers, and the young couples form as they wish. The parents on both sides fix a meeting, but it is the boy's parents who make the journey. Discussions of the 'bride-price' are lengthy. The Puyuma want their daughter-in-law to 'move in', but the girl's parents are bitterly opposed to their daughter's departure if she is earning a salary. At this point, a shaman takes part in the discussions, and surreptitiously performs a few rites. For example, Rosen, the second son of the *Pasara'aq* household, wanted to marry a Taiwanese nurse. Unfortunately, she was an only daughter, earning a high salary, and her parents insisted that the couple live with them, and

that their daughter give them her salary. Despite the shaman's intervention, and much haggling, Rosen did not marry her.

There are a few cases of exorbitant bride-prices. The parents of a female factory worker earning 30,000 yuan a month may demand 200,000 yuan; for a nurse working for foreign missionaries with a monthly salary of 40,000 yuan, the 'price' may be up to 500,000 yuan. Substantial sums circulate within society, and money received for a daughter's marriage is handed over again for the son. Unfortunately, village girls are not much in demand, except by the *Minkuk*,[9] who will pay quite large sums for a fertile young woman, whereas Puyuma boys look for 'outsiders' with good salaries. In general, the Taiwanese have well paid jobs, whereas the aborigines perform menial tasks. Sums involved are therefore very different, and the Puyuma compensate for this difference by increasing the number of guests, up to 200 people, at the wedding reception. Here again, there is galloping inflation, with each guest giving a red envelope containing 1,000–1,200 yuan, representing a gain of 100,000–200,000 yuan to pay the caterer's bill of 30,000–50,000 yuan. It appears that in recent years the matrimonial value of individuals is no longer correlated to their sex, or their contribution to subsistence farming. It seems to depend mainly on their productive work, or on the income that the in-laws hope to obtain from them, and are capable of extorting from them.

Another kind of marriage has evolved over the past twenty years, that of Puyuma girls with *Minkuk*. These men, aged over 50 in the 1980s, are retired civil servants. Some of them, under the illusion they are going to 'reconquer the continent', have remained unmarried, with no male descendants to carry on ancestor worship. It is not easy for a 50-year-old to find a young wife of child-bearing age. Channels were set up to recruit future wives. For Puyuma girls, husbands like these offer some advantages – their pension and their age. These women are widowed young, and in general do not remarry, but benefit from their husbands' pensions, and usually own splendid houses. However, both parties find satisfaction in the arrangement, since the Chinese husband makes sure he has descendants. During their short life in the village, all these foreigners, brought up according to Confucian morals, are very unobtrusive. A husband from outside the group has no power, and is even classed with the women, since he has not gone through the different age-sets (see Cauquelin 1995b).

The contemporary wedding ceremony

Traditionally, the ceremony only took place at the girl's home, but since two or three decades ago, each family has organised festivities. Nowadays, in the early morning, the shaman goes alone to the ancestral altar. She places offerings, burns incense and informs the ancestors that their descendant is getting married. She demands their protection to obtain numerous

descendants and thus perpetuate the cult. The bridegroom arrives at the end of the morning, and the bride comes out of her room, dressed and made up in Western style. The young pair make offerings to the ancestors and burn incense while the shaman serves the dead ancestors the feast and invites them to take part in the wedding breakfast. The girl bows to her parents and thanks them. They give the newly weds a pair of little chicks, a symbol of married bliss. 'Little chicks never lose their way, and bring home wandering husbands', say the Puyuma. The groom's parents give a present of two long leafy sugar cane fronds, which the couple wedge in the roof frame of their room. The parents thus remind the young couple that they have a roof over their heads, but also that they must give birth to children as big and handsome as these sugar cane branches.

The girl leaves her family home with her presents and furniture, and the shaman burns paper money. The first day's festivities always take place at the boy's home, and the girl's house becomes very quiet after the couple has left.

Prior to the 1970s, the wedding ceremony mobilised the entire household for several days: on the first day, all the men on the wife's side went up to the mountains to pick betel roots; on the second day, they went to cut bamboos, which served as poles to erect tents outside the house; the third day was the 'day of rejoicing', and they put up the tents; on the fourth day, the actual wedding took place, 'moving into the house', and the husband slept for the first time at his wife's house; on the fifth day, the young husband, in the case of matrilocal residence, or the young wife, in the case of patrilocal residence, returned to the family home to drink with his or her friends; on the sixth day, the 'showing' ceremony, *patiltil*, took place, and all the guests came back to the wife's home, while she distributed branches of areca nuts, freshly cut and carefully trimmed, with betel root, the size of the bunch being in proportion to the guests' age. Today, age no longer counts, only the contents of the envelope given at the reception. The person who makes the biggest contribution gets the biggest bunch.

Nowadays, the first day of festivities takes place at the boy's home, and the second at the girl's. If both are from Nanwang, the celebration lasts two days, but with different guests. The family hires a firm of caterers who take charge of the entire feast. The meals are always the same, although there are several different rates, depending on optional extras.

Divorce

According to my informants, there is only a 3 per cent divorce rate, which does not reflect reality. The Puyuma speak little of it, but over the years, and with developing friendships, I have discovered that a third of couples have divorced at least once. For example, the *Pasaraʔaḍ* did not tell me that their eldest son had divorced a Chinese woman and had subsequently married

a young Taiwanese. Saikin, a collaborator, had three husbands, but when I performed my first survey, she only mentioned the first. Widows or widowers remarry very quickly. A man cannot remain alone, but where can he go since the disappearance of the men's houses? If the household where he was born does not want him back, another marriage is a solution.

Adultery

Simple adultery does not seem to have been a problem, although our observations, supported by the words of our informants, were contradicted by Ishii Shinjii (1916: 13): 'The morality between the sexes is very high; among them adultery is the most heinous offence.' Abandoning a childless woman was not a very serious misdemeanour, but abandoning a woman with a child led to sanctions. There is a famous case: when her husband died, Sakap from the *Paḷegi* household lived with Bansai, and this liaison produced a daughter. As soon as the girl was born, Bansai left for Apapalo with a new companion, Ayok, a *Parababuyan* woman. A son was born. The council of Elders and the abandoned woman's parents went to Apapalo and seized the couple's best ox. The animal was slaughtered in the men's house, and the whole village took part in the meal, except for the young people, who were not allowed to eat this meat so as to avoid committing adultery in their turn. But one day, Bansai disappeared for good, Ayok returned to live in Nanwang, and married Sawaku, and Sakap's parents arranged a marriage with a man from Pinaski.

Exchange of sisters

According to my informants, exchange of sisters is a type of marriage the Puyuma find desirable. The exchange of brother and sister is a form of compensation that is not given in kind, but returns to the donor the labour taken by the first marriage, but I have only found two examples of levirate. The two remarriages took place in the *Raera* household, and they said it was a good way of solving economic and social problems, since the family structure did not change. Waka married Bunter, her elder sister's husband, and her sister's child and Bunter remained at home. Sadaw married his wife's sister, an Amis, residence was patrilocal, and the new wife 'moved in' and looked after the children.

6

DUAL ORGANISATION AND AGE-SYSTEM

Dual organisation

Historical reconstitution

The Puyuma village is organised in ceremonial moieties: upper and lower (*ami, timuɭ*), one on each side of the main road. Traditionally, each included a boys' house, and three founding households to which were attached three men's houses, each with its own hunting ground. The upper moiety houses the three founding households descended from the original couple 'born of the bamboo'. Each of these households possessed an ancestral cult house, *karumaʾan*. The lower moiety reproduced the same structure, but according to accounts, two households were descended from division of those in the upper moiety.

The legend of origin told by the Puyuma ignores the dual organisation of the village, but outlines the structure of the upper moiety. Paɖuŋaw, the eldest son of the incestuous couple 'born of the bamboo', married his sister Pakeskes and they founded the *Balaŋato* household in Papaturan. The second son, Raurawi, married his younger sister Suaragaw and they founded the *Pasaraʾaɖ* household in Maidatar. The third son, Maregreg, and his unknown wife founded the *Sapayan* household in Arawarawai. This enables us to complete the family tree shown in Figure 1.1 (see Figure 6.1).

Table 6.1 Traditional structure of the village

	Boys' houses	*Households*	*Ancestral cult houses*	*Men's houses*	*Hunting grounds*
Upper moiety	*takuban i ami*	*Pasaraʾaɖ*	One	*patapaŋ*	*apaŋan*
		Sapayan	One	*baɭubaɭu*	*limuɖus*
		Balaŋato	One	*kinuʈuɭ*	*buak*
Lower moiety	*takuban i timuɭ*	*Raera*	One	*karunun*	*sinaran*
		Araʃiʃ	One	*gamugamut*	*gadarapa*
		Luŋaɖan	One	*kinaburaw*	*arapawan*

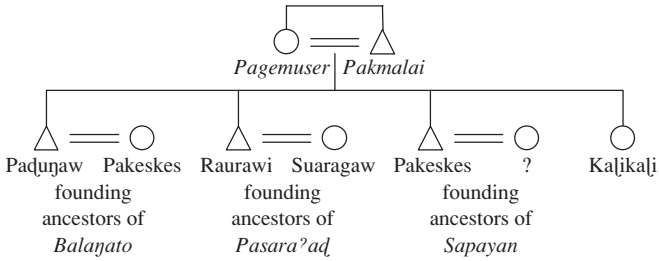


Figure 6.1 The *Sapayan* household

Pakmalai i temapakan Pagemuser i,	Pakmalai married Pagemuser
kadu i Paɖuŋaw, Pakeskes, Raurawi.	They gave birth to Paɖuŋaw, Pakeskes, Raurawi,
Paɖuŋaw i kema i Balaŋato, kadu i Maliŋdar,	Paɖuŋaw, so it is said, was a *Balaŋato*, and gave birth to Maliŋdar,
Maliŋdar i temapakan Areteban i,	Maliŋdar married Areteban
kadu i Uduŋ	They gave birth to Uduŋ
Uduŋ i temapakan Damidan i, Araʃiʃ	Uduŋ married Damidan, an *Araʃiʃ*
kadu i Demalasaw	They gave birth to Demalasaw
Demalasaw i temapakan Taiban, Butul i	Demalasaw married Taiban, a *Butul*
kadu i Balaur, kadu i Liugaw,	And they had Balaur and Liugaw.
Balaur i temapakan Seniur i, Sapayan,	Balaur married Seniur, a *Sapayan*,
kadu i Apil, kadu i Basai, kadu i Kalaŋlaʾan, kadu i Baladibad	They had Apil, Basai, Kalaŋlaʾan, Baladibad
Apil i temapakan Mukerker i, Aliʾalib,	Apil married Mukerker, an *Aliʾalib*
kadu i Abereŋan,	They had Abereŋan
Abereŋan i temapakan Kawar i, Liŋaliŋai	Abereŋan married Kawar, a *Liŋaliŋai*,
kadu i Maruŋana, kadu i Kaptayan	They had Maruŋana and Kaptayan
Kaptayan i kirʈebuŋ kana Balaka	Kaptayan met a foreign woman.
Maruŋana i temapakan Kayakai, Paɭegi	Maruŋana married Kayagai, a *Paɭegi*,
kadu i Bakaŋan, kadu i Murateb	They had Bakaŋan and Murateb
Kaptayan i temapakan Legan i, Butul	Kaptayan married Legan, a *Butul*
kadu i Kulasai, kadu i Bunlai	They had Kulasai and Bunlai
Kulasai i temapakan Buroŋ, Dalisin	Kulasai married Buroŋ, a *Dalisin*
kadu i Legan, kadu i Siʾar, kadu i Pinadai, kadu i Maɖegiɭ	They had Legan, Siʾar, Pinadai and Maɖegiɭ

Siʔar i temapakan Danaw, Sapayan	Siʔar married Danaw, a *Sapayan*
kadu i Sirugu, kadu i Alibatu, kadu i Baliwakus	They had Siruku, Alibatu and Baliwakus
Sirugu i temapakan Balaur, Sapayan	Siruku married Balaur, a *Sapayan*
kadu i Kulasai, kadu i Tukil, kadu i Taʔata	They had Kulasai, Tukil and Taʔata.
Balaur i minatai la, Sirugu i temapakan Danaw	On Balaur's death, Siruku married Danaw
kadu i Sumurunu, kadu i Pakiwaya	They had Sumurun and Pakiwaya.

This unpublished text was collected from Gulum of the *Pikel* household in 1983, and the genealogical line is shown in Figure 6.2.

Another legend, recorded by Utsurikawa (1935: 359), enables us to trace the ancestors from secondary households back to unknown origins. In this account, we learn that Demasalaw was a direct descendant of Paɖuŋaw. In fact Uduŋ, Paɖuŋaw's grandson and Demasalaw's father, married an *Araʃiʃ* and they set up house in Bukid; the *Tuʔutuʔur* lived in Tuʔutuʔur, the *Pateŋ* in Kinawdu and the *Butul*, i.e. Demasalaw and Taiban, in Tekes.[1] All these households joined the second son, Raurawi, in Maidatar, where each built their own men's house: the *Pasaraʔaɖ* built Patapaŋ, the *Araʃiʃ* opened the Gamugamut men's house and the *Sapayan* built Baɭubaɭu. The legend also describes how the *Pateŋ* left Kinawdu and went to Maidatar, where they built the Kinaburaw men's house, and some of its members left and founded the *Luŋaɖan* household. The community assembled in the hamlet of Maidatar, except for the *Balaŋato* household, who left Papaturan to settle at first in Salamusan, a few hundred metres away from the community. That was where the *Balaŋato* built the Kinuʈuɭ men's house. All the doors of this building open to the east. On the first three mornings, the occupants of Kinuʈuɭ discovered that the door had moved to the south. For three days, they put the door back facing east, but on the fourth morning, the men decided to leave the opening facing south (i.e. facing the village), since this was the ancestors' message. The Kinuʈuɭ men's house is the only one with a door facing south. Movements of the households may be summarised as in Table 6.2.

Inside the village, each household built a house for ancestor-worship, *karumaʔan*.

According to Utsurikawa's text (1935), households in the lower moiety of the village were probably the result of divisions in those in the upper moiety. For example, the *Luŋaɖan* probably came from a fission in the *Pateŋ*. Another legend told by the villagers informs us that Apil, a fifth-generation descendant of Paɖuŋaw, married a girl from the *Aliʔalib* household. Their descendant Siʔar married a *Sapayan* man called Danaw, and the couple gave up the name of *Aliʔalib* for that of *Raera*.[2] The couple built the *Raera* ancestral cult house. Here is the story:

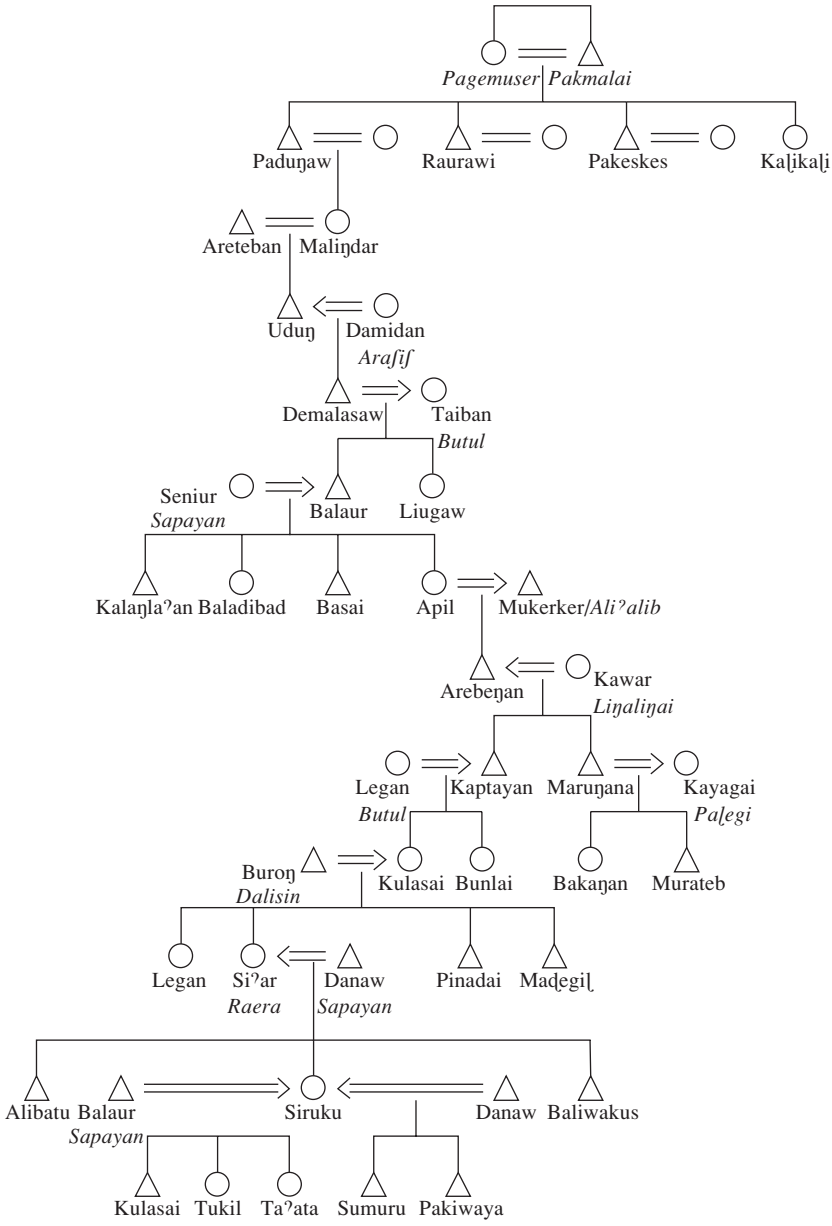
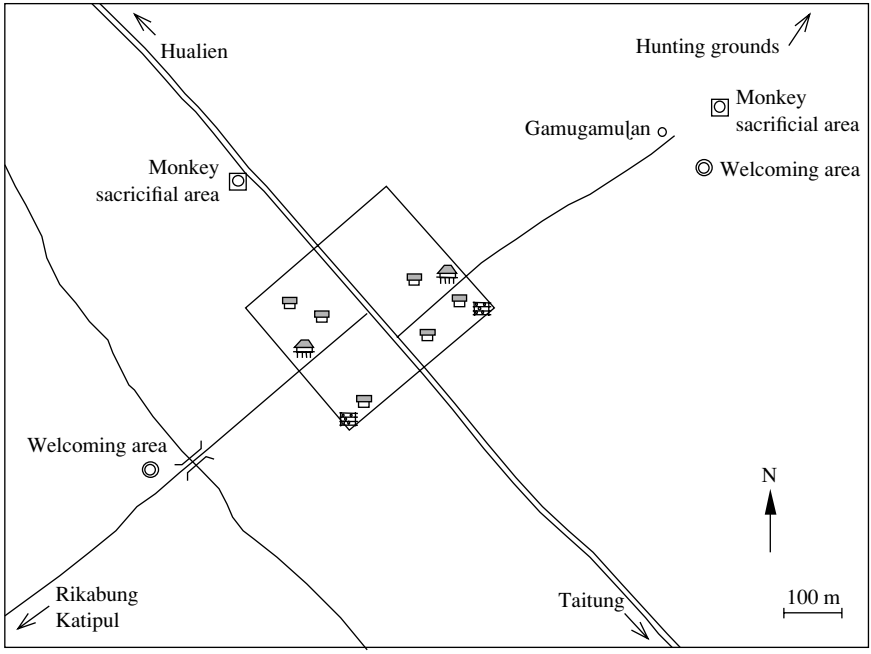


Figure 6.2 The genealogical line of the Puyuma

Table 6.2 Movements of the households

Upper moiety				
Ancestors	Paɖuŋaw	Raurawi	Pakeskes	Kaɭikaɭi
Households	*Balaŋato*	*Pasaraʾaɖ*	*Sapayan*	
Places	Papaturan Salamusan village	Village (Maidatar)	Arawarawai village	Papaturan
Men's houses	Kinuʈuɭ	Patapaŋ	Baɭubaɭu	Descendants building the boys' house
Lower moiety				
Households	*Raera*	*Araʃiʃ*	*Luŋaɖan* (*Pateŋ*)	
Places		Bukid village	Kinawdu village	
Men's houses	Karunun	Gamugamut	Kinaburaw	



Map 6.1 Ritual places in the village

> The beautiful girl, Siʔar, did not love him, the 'virile-warrior' had a face covered in spots, and a big paunch. In short, he was not good-looking. But the *Sapayan* owned great tracts of land. The beautiful girl's parents wanted this 'virile-warrior' to move in with them and bring his land with him. Then the girl spoke thus to her parents: 'All right, let him capture a white stag for me, and I will give my consent with a nod of my head.' The 'virile-warrior' left for the mountains with his hunting partners. They went to the stags' resting place where they saw a pure white stag. He put down his bag, took his rope, and aimed at the white stag. But the stag fled, followed by the hunter as he twisted and turned his way through the mountains. Finally, the stag was captured and placed in front of the girl, who gave a little cry and wept. The white stag had been captured, so she nodded in consent.

The upper moiety, *ami*, represents the continuity of the link with the ancestors,[3] and includes the founding house, *Pasaraʔaḍ*, which took precedence for harvests, and was invested with the ritual power for the whole society, keeping the *sacra* in the ancestral cult house of the founders of the community, the *Pasaraʔaḍ*. Since the eighteenth century, according to the Puyuma, the chief has been systematically named from the founding household, *Raera*, of the lower moiety; this is not accurate, since, although he is frequently named from this household, he has also often been elected from others. I have made an inventory of all the chiefs since Taʔata at the beginning of the twentieth century, and have found men from the *Bakabak*, *Butul*, *Tiam* and *Tuʔur* households. The dyads are given in Table 6.3.

Structure today

This structure has not existed since 1915. First of all, it was the Kinuʈuḷ men's house that was not rebuilt, then, in turn, Kinaburaw, Gamugamut and finally, in 1926, Baḷubaḷu. When the village was moved in 1929, only the two men's houses of the main households of each moiety were kept, i.e. Karunun for the lower moiety and Patapaŋ for the upper moiety. At the beginning of the

Table 6.3 Dyads associated with each moiety

Upper moiety	*Lower moiety*
Founders (natives)	Non-founders (divisions, immigrants?)
Ancestral mountain	Sea
Direction of the sleeper's head	Direction of the dead man's head
Ritual power	Chiefdom, political power (trend)
Protective spirit of the living, *pametek*	Burial of the dead, *inulid*

1950s, the Puyuma mayor from the *Raera* household, Orumakan, rebuilt one boys' house and one men's house in the centre of the village.

Puyuma identity is based, as noted earlier, on territory, and identity is given a concrete form by the individual's membership of one of the households situated on the land of one of the moieties of the village. In 1929, the Japanese completely overturned this primordial concept by rebuilding the houses according to the lie of the land. Cutting the village in moiety is not sufficient to create a dual structure. The founding household, *Pasaraʔaḍ*, was originally set up in the lower moiety of the village, but moved to the upper moiety as soon as it was able to exchange its allotted land. We have already noted that the splitting into three hamlets at Peinan was not satisfactory to the Puyuma. An inventory of household names shows that Tatimuɭ and Tuʔutuʔurplayed the role of the moieties, and that of the six men's houses, three had been built in Tatimuɭ – Karunun, Gamugamut and Kinaburaw – and the three others in Tuʔutuʔur: Patapaŋ, Baɭubaɭu and Kinuʈuɭ. The two boys' houses remained in the former village, *dekal*.

The ancestral cult house

The uncontested predominance of the founding household, *Pasaraʔaḍ*, is based on its links with the mythical ancestors, and its ancestral cult house is in charge of the entire group. In the 1960s, Bantiang was in charge of this sanctuary, but he became a Catholic and, unfortunately, abandoned it. After several years of bad harvests, all the villagers decided to rebuild it. The mayor asked the ritual practitioner, Aliwaki, a *Pasaraʔaḍ* from another line, to take charge of it, and the offering to the ancestors, 'the rite of the deer', was immediately celebrated.

The Japanese ethnologist Mabuchi (1960: 134) mentions that 'the inhabitants fall into two social classes, nobles and commoners, but intermarriage between them is not interdicted', yet no Puyuma term justifies this social classification. Marriages between 'the noble class' and the others are not in the least forbidden. Although the latter were obliged to adhere to village endogamy, it occasionally happened that a member of the 'noble class' contracted a union with another from a neighbouring group; for example, among the Paiwan, who have a strongly hierarchical society, divided into nobles and commoners. These unions facilitated certain peace agreements. For example, Pinadai, chief of the village in the eighteenth century, married a Paiwan. Mabuchi (1974: 219) mentions several unions between Puyuma and Paiwan (Figure 6.3).

These marriages can be found in the genealogy of the *Raera* household in Puyuma, but Siruku's husband was called Sematiang and not Sumasiyan, and for the Puyuma his mother was from the *Dalialep* household (fission of the *Raera*). His mother chose patrilocal residence, a matrimonial custom

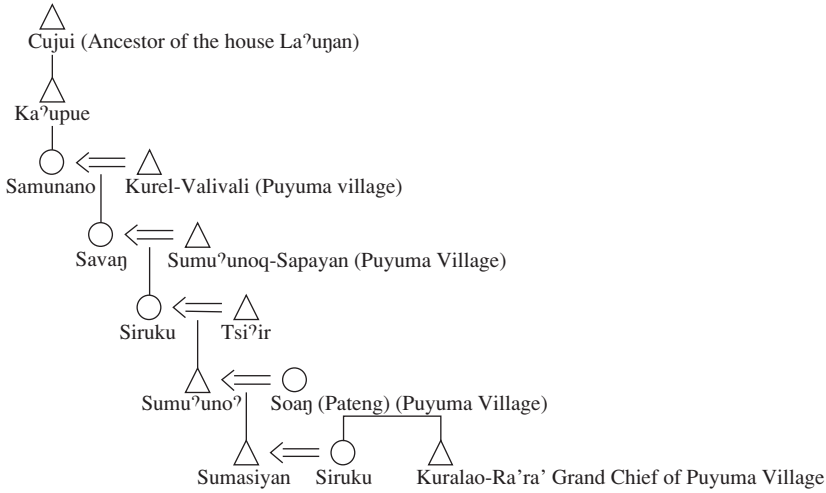


Figure 6.3 Unions between Puyuma and Paiwan

practised by the Paiwan, and the young Sematiang was born at his father's house. In this scheme, the name of the 'noble clan' *Sapayan* appears, and we also find two names of secondary households, *Balibali* and *Pateng*. It is possible that the father of these children was the chief of the men's house, and that it was necessary to search for certain marriages. What Mabuchi calls the 'noble class' would appear to be founding households, *samawan.*

In Puyuma we find six ancestral cult houses belonging to each of the founding households, which encompass the entire community, but also secondary ancestral cult houses,[4] which accomplish rituals concerning their own household, such as the 'rite of the deer'. From early childhood onwards – age does not seem to be important – the parents choose to attach their child to one or the other of these sanctuaries, on either the mother's or the father's side. Mabuchi writes of 'membership' and points out that this choice depends mainly on the social power of the households. The author gives some statistics which show that a son tends to be attached to his father's ancestral cult house and a girl to her mother's, but the ethnologist refuses to draw conclusions. The expression 'membership' seems relevant. The choice depends on the parents' decision, and if a shaman's diagnosis reveals that this choice is the cause of illness or any other disturbance experienced by the child, the parents attach him to the other sanctuary. This presents us with a problem of definition, but the term 'affiliation' is not justified. Today, only two buildings remain, those of the *Pasaraʔaḍ* and *Raera*. But informants maintain that they used to frequent the ancestral cult houses of both parents, and even that of their spouses when they were alive, and I have noted this throughout my investigations.

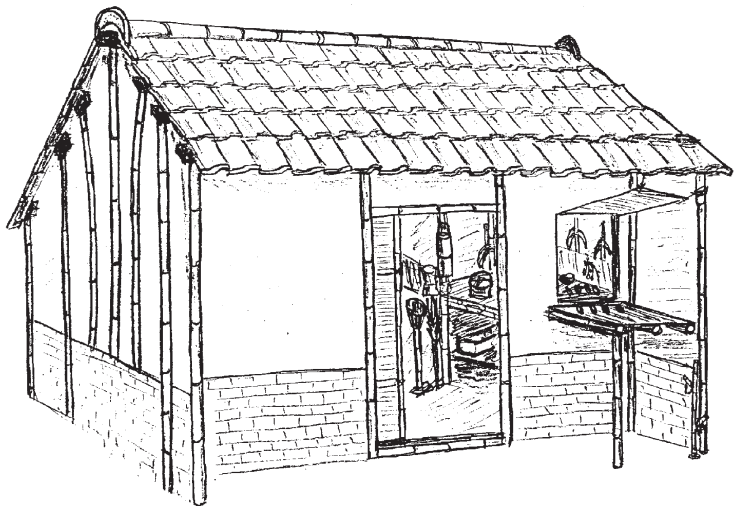


Figure 6.4 Karuma'an of the *Raera* household

Age-system

The entire society is divided into four states 'children', 'youth', 'adults' and 'elders'. The men's group has a more detailed definition of their age-grades:[5] 'children', 'young men undergoing initiation' (*takubakuban*), 'virile-warriors' and 'Elders'. MacGovern (1922: 122) had already noted that society was organised in this way: 'to revert for a moment to the customs of the Paiwan and Puyuma tribes. A rather strict age-grade, or system of rank regulated according to age seems to exist among them. The older the man or woman, the more is he, or she, held in reverence.' All Puyuma pass through these states to achieve the highest grade: 'the Elder, the wise man', *na maidaŋ, na malaḍam*. There is no sex differentiation[6] in the ages of life up to the age of 13 and after the age of about 60. With the exception of children, all men, as soon as they enter the boys' house[7] are divided into two classes[8] concretised by two buildings, the boys' house and the men's house, the former divided into five age-sets and the latter into only three. The two buildings successively inhabited by any man after he leaves childhood – and the maternal home – are the tangible signs of organisation according to age. They mainly concern men, but are not without repercussions on women.

For boys, categories and grades are well defined and must be passed one by one, whereas for girls they are far less formal, unsanctioned by any ritual. A man cannot marry until he is over 21, whereas a girl can very well marry at 13, and quickly enter the category of married women, *babayan*.

The child is outside the system. His or her childhood takes place within the mother's household, and is marked by a series of stages that describe the

Table 6.4 Age categories and grades (ages given are approximate)

	Boys' house	*Girls*
13–18 years	*takubakuban*, 'of the *takuban*'	*mialabit/miatubil*, 'who wears the *labit/tubil*'
	Men's house	*Women*
18–21 years	*miabubtan*, 'wears the *bubtan*'	*bu[a]bu[a]yan*, 'the beautiful'
22–50 years	*baŋsaran*, 'virile-warrior'	*babayan*, 'married woman'
50–57 years	*barabarat*,[a] 'middle, in-between'	*mia[a]aŋi[a]a*, 'ear-tufts'
57 + years	*maidaŋ*, 'Elder'	*maidaŋ*, 'Elder'

[a]*barat*: middle, ridge pole.

young individual's progress (boy or girl), but ends with a category announcing a turning point. After a boy reaches the age of those 'who look after the zebus' (see Table 4.1), he will, sooner or later, have to enter the boys' house, and follow the successive stages of the age-system. His lot is no longer separate from that of his peer group. With each successive age-set, he acquires a new name, modifies his dress and abandons his former role to take on a new one. The peer groups and classes graduate through the age-sets or change houses during a great annual festival, *basibase*, which is part of the ceremonial cycle, *maŋayaw*. This is a decisive ceremony in Puyuma, since it is this rite that restores order to the entire society.

The boys' house[9]

From the age of 13 onwards, boys' education takes place in the boys' house. Access to the boys' house is strictly forbidden to anyone who does not belong there. The two brothers who built the first house killed their father for breaking this rule.

Description of the building

It is the only building in the village elevated on pillars, and forbidden to anyone from outside. The building of each side is constructed inside stockades, next to the upper and lower doors. All the pillars are cut from the lower section of bamboo stems. The raising of the house, about three metres from the ground, hides from profane eyes everything that goes on inside it, and a circular platform enables surveillance protection. The house is entered via a bamboo ladder, leading into a trapdoor in the floor. Every year, the building is restored (formerly, it was completely destroyed and rebuilt). The five pillars on the north and south sides and the three on the east and west sides support the ridge purlin and the beams, and all the others support the floor. The interior of the building is about nine metres square between the corner pillars.[10] The buttresses are notched so they can be slotted into

Figure 6.5 The boys' house

the ridge purlin, and the building is thus resistant to the numerous violent typhoons that rack the region. The floor and the round platform are made of split bamboo slats. The roof has two straight slopes on the east and west sides, and two rounded ends at the back and the front opening on the uphill side. Tie-beams fixed at right-angles to the floor pillars ensure that the building is completely stable. The centre is occupied by the hearth. On entering through the trapdoor, we see on the right the place of 'he who plays the elder', and 'he who plays the leader', and turning anti-clockwise, the stalls of the 'big ones',[11] then the place of the 'coward'; facing the entrance are the sleeping places of the *talibatukan* and on the left the two sub-age-sets of the 'first ones' and 'those about to become "virile-warriors"'. The seat of the monkey sacrificed during the rite of passage is hung between the pillars.

The rite of passage, basibase

Age-sets are connected to initiation. This initiation, correlated with the boys' ages, results in a horizontal stratification. The annual rite enables each year-peer to pass on to another age-set, and the displacement of a year-peer leads to that of all the others, without exception, up to the last one. Progression through sub-age-sets is represented by wearing a particular costume, which plays a considerable role, since it changes each year.

'The first ones' wear a very sober blue or black top, without embroidery, and with a short skirt held by a wide red belt tied at the back, and the boys

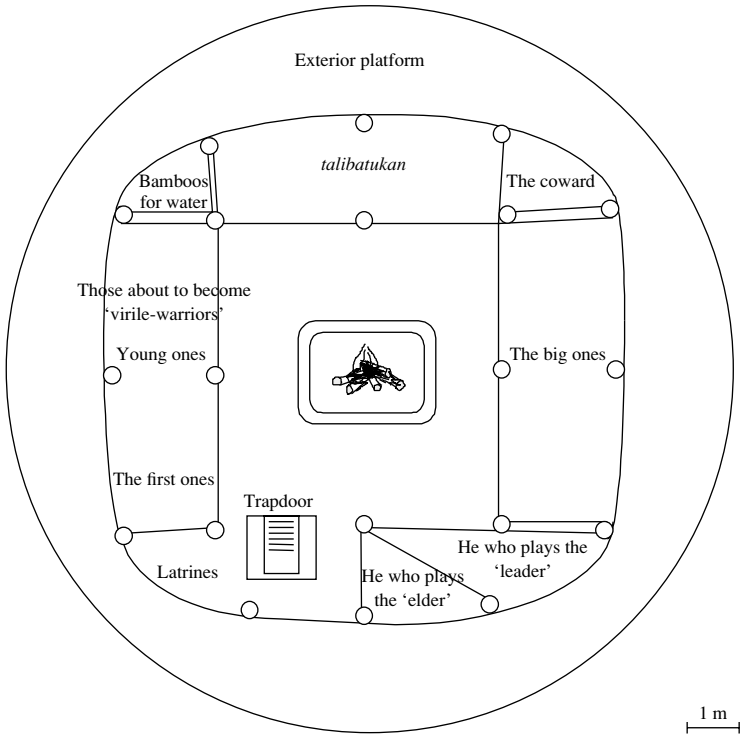


Figure 6.6 Interior of the boys' house

are barefoot. The *talibatukan* wear the same costume as the 'first ones', with a simple white line sewn half-way up the skirt, separating a plain top from a flowered bottom. From this sub-age-set upwards, the initiates wear shoes. 'Those about to become "virile-warriors"' wear the same costume as the younger ones, but they wear a white scarf on their heads held by a crown of flowers, and a row of rattles is tied to their backs with a green belt. The 'big ones' from the first year wear a white shirt and an ankle bracelet made from rabbit skin, and their green belt is no longer tied at the back but at the side, showing the two finely embroidered ends, and they also carry a decorated bamboo lance, the *dederan.* The 'big ones' from the second year may be distinguished from the others by a white scarf crowned with flowers and a white border half-way up the skirt, and they acquire the big knife, *taḍaw*.

The boys who have acquired the age-grade of *takubakuban* (boys aged 13–18 years) are divided between *maranakan*, 'those who are young together', and *mardawan*, 'those who grow up together', and these age-sets are divided into sub-age-sets with unchangeable names, as enumerated below. The terms of relationship elder/younger are not used within this category,

Table 6.5 Age-sets in the boys' house

Approximate ages	*Age-grades*	*Age-sets*	*Sub-age-sets*	*Translation*
13–18 years	*takubakuban*			from the *takuban* ('from the boys' house')
13–16 years		*maranakan*		'the young ones'
13–14 years			*ŋawaŋawai*	'the first ones'
14–15 years			*talibatukan*	?
15–16 years			*kitubaŋsar*	'those about to become "virile-warriors"'
16–18 years		*mardawan*		the 'big ones'
16–17 years			First year	
17–18 years			Second year	

since a 'young one' may well be the eldest in his birth household, i.e. the first-born or simply older than another sibling, but may be younger than the youngest son of another household. Inside the boys' and men's houses, all the occupants belong to the same class. These age-classes result in equality among members.

Basibase is the ritual that takes place on the fifth day of *maŋayaw*. The decision to enter the boys' house stems from a personal undertaking, and its only basis is age. When a boy feels ready, he goes, a few days before *maŋayaw*, to the boys' house to meet 'he who plays the elder', and asks to be taken in.

The ceremony is identical for all boys. On the third evening of *maŋayaw*, the new postulants must help the whole class of the boys' house to build the monkey's sacrificial area outside the village: *paŋayaŋayan*, 'the place where heads are cut off, *ŋa*'.[12] On the fourth evening, they join the *takubakuban* for the ceremony, *alabakai ta* ('enter into us'), to expel the miasma accumulated in the houses during the year. All night long, the 'young ones' rush to curl up in the main room of the houses, yelling '*alabakai ta*!', whereas the 'big ones', standing up, and armed with sticks, hit any heads protruding from the mass of rounded backs. Each house presents them with sweetmeats, which they throw to the villagers the next day from the top of the platform surrounding the boys' house, just after the main festivities. The old people say that they used to blacken their faces and hide behind banana leaves. This 'mask' gave the older boys permission to hit the younger ones without recognising them, and, in turn, without being recognised. On the morning of the fifth day, they clean the space between the pillars used as a latrine – the *takubakuban* urinate through the slats in the floor – and the 'big ones' take advantage of this to shake out their blanket from the top of the platform. Then, they join the procession led by the 'coward' and 'he who plays the elder' holding the stick to which the effigy of the monkey is tied;[13] they are followed by the 'big ones' and then the 'young ones'. (The monkey was

captured several weeks before the ritual, and lived comfortably for several days, on its shelf hung between the pillars, in perfect harmony with the boys. There it was fed, even petted, and it was no longer called monkey, *ɭuʈuŋ*, but *uŋaw*, a friendly term reserved for this monkey raised by young boys, whose sacrifice was their sole aim.) The procession makes its way to the sacrificial area, where the animal's effigy is placed. Two 'big ones' go back to the village to chase the miasma of death from houses that have suffered a bereavement since the previous ceremony. The initiates watch the execution of this surrogate monkey by the 'big ones', who shout, since they have already been initiated and are proud to show their courage. The sacrifice is performed in an atmosphere of rejoicing. Before leaving this place, 'he who plays the elder' symbolically shoots a few arrows in the air. The 'big ones', who are reaching the highest age-set of the boys' house, are beaten by those who are leaving for good to join the men's house. The stick is cut especially for this occasion, and is thrown to the crowd the next day. All the boys sing the first verse of the *kemudaw*[14] song:

We begin to sing the *kemudaw*,
From the upper moiety.
This morning, at dawn,
We, from the upper moiety
Always the first,
Have brought it
To this dark place.
So, this is the end.

The procession, still in decreasing order of age, returns to the *takuban*, taking the sacrificed animal with it. The animal is placed between the pillars, while the boys, in a hurly-burly ceremony, drive the worms from the bamboos used to build the house. There is a great noise of feet and hands beating on the walls and floor of the building, while the boys shout three times:

We are shaking the house,
We are driving out the worms
From the bamboo bark
In every corner.

The whole group invades the platform and showers the crowd with the sweets collected the day before, and the sticks used to beat the heads of the 'young ones' and the bottoms of the 'big ones' – these objects, cut from bamboo a few days previously, can only be used once. Then the effigy of the monkey is tied once more to its stick and 'he who plays the elder' and the 'coward' swing the monkey while the others sing the second verse of the ritual song:

We begin to sing the *kemudaw*.
Today, at dawn,
Equipped with our decorated lances,
We were at the house of the 'coward', *ragan*.
Those who often give orders,
'Go up, go down',
Had already given offerings,
This is the end.

The effigy is then transported, by the same two boys followed by the entire group, to the end of the village, where it is thrown on the rubbish heap with cries of disgust. The third and final verse of the *kemudaw* is then sung:

We begin to sing the *kemudaw*.
What do we care for the dense-leafed forest,
For the vines,
The monkey has been captured.
We have pierced it through and through
With wooden or bamboo lances.
After swinging it,
We have thrown the dead body
In the middle of the woods and bamboos.

The return to the *takuban* takes place amid the rattling of bells and the same evening, the postulants dance with all the other boys and sleep with their new companions, no longer returning to their childhood homes.[15]

Progress through the age-sets may also be seen as a decrease in the absorption of impurities. The new postulants accumulate all the dirt: not only that inside and outside the boys' house, but also that of the 'enter into us' ritual. The 'young ones' acquire only the latter, whereas the 'big ones' are burdened with all the unhealthy particles left in the houses by the dead. However, at the time of sacrifice, all these impurities are transferred to the monkey, who also receives the worms threatening the bamboo building, since it was placed under the building not at random, but for the purpose of receiving this vermin. From their first participation onwards, the new postulants know what not to do; the 'coward', who has been designated by his whole age-class as unworthy of promotion, remains squatting in his hut built apart from the rest. He does not take part in the sacrifice.

In the boys' house, the 'big ones', second-year *mardawan*, are responsible for teaching and discipline, and are in charge of all the boys. 'He who plays the elder' and 'he who plays the leader' are elected by these 'big ones'. No adult enters the house, even to give advice.

Figure 6.7 The boys' house, *takuban* (drawn by Asin, aged 11)

The next morning, the men go hunting, and the *takubakuban* dance every evening for ten days until the men return, when they must yield their place to the adults.

Integration

The initiate takes his place in the age-set belonging to the 'young ones'. Every year, he changes sleeping place, but for the next five years, until he is admitted to the men's house, he stays in the building. If he is ill, his mother or sisters leave the medicines necessary for his recovery under the pillars. MacGovern (1922: 123) gave the following explanation:

> The reasons assigned for having the young men live apart in bachelor-houses are as various as are the reasons assigned for the other customs previously referred to. The two explanations most frequently given are: (*a*) that living apart makes the young men more courageous and intrepid, especially as the bachelor-houses are usually decorated with skulls of slain ennemies of the tribe, or tribal group; and (*b*) that it makes for chastity, and also for conserving the delicacy of mind of the young women and children; that is, that the latter may be surrounded only by staid, elderly people, and thus hear no conversation unfitted for their ears.

He loses his name, and becomes, like all the other occupants of the building, a *takubakuban*, 'from the *takuban*', and more specifically in the age-set of the 'young ones' and the sub-age-set of the 'first ones'. These terms are used both for address and for reference. He then acquires a secret, personal nickname for use within the house, which he loses the day he leaves it. Old men always remember their nicknames; for example, one of our informants, Gulum, from the *Pikel* household, was known as *sinsi*, 'master',[16] and another was given the nickname of *sika*, 'the deer', since the child had acquired a reputation as a fast runner. They use a reciprocal term of address and reference strictly reserved for each other, *kaput*. The boy loses his whole personality, and everything that can identify him disappears; even his teeth are blackened with the ashes of the burning stem of the plant *Murraya paniculata*.[17] He is subjected to whippings, which are repeated as often as the 'big ones' deem necessary, especially before the annual rite of passage. An elder brother never spares a younger; on the contrary, it is his way of showing his seniority and his break with family life. The inner space is divided into sub-sets in order to separate elder and younger brothers.

The young initiates owe total obedience to the 'big ones'. The latter elect 'he who plays the leader', and 'he who plays the elder'; in general the bravest boys, who 'know how to command' and who 'know how to speak' are chosen. Their jobs are to give orders and supervise all the activities. Among the 'young ones', the shyest and most timid boy is chosen as 'the coward', *ragan*. These three characters each occupy a separate stall. MacGovern (1922: 123) notes this total obedience:

> So strictly is the age-grade system observed among the Piyuma that there are two club-houses: one for boys from twelve to fifteen. In both bachelor-houses – that of the boys and that of the young men – the strictest discipline prevails. A certain number of youths are assigned the duty of keeping the fire supplied with wood (if the fire were allowed to go out it would be considered an omen of disaster to the tribe); others that of bringing water – which is usually carried in great bamboo tubes, borne on the shoulders. Each age-grade is supposed to obey without question the orders of those of superior age.

Boys from the first two years are not allowed to smoke, drink wine or chew betel. Every morning, on the orders of the 'big ones', the 'young ones' shoulder the water-carrying bamboos, and run to the spring to draw water. They are not allowed to eat or go to bed before the 'big ones'. They have to carry their burdens, stop walking and bow their heads when they meet the Elders in the street; the latter, in their turn, have to respect the mythical taboo not to enter the boys' house, and to remove their hats as they pass by the door. In case of infringement, the *takubakuban* kill a monkey in the mountains and throw it into the men's house where the offender lives. All

the 'virile-warriors' of this men's house then have to neutralise the insult with a head-hunt. Informants remember that the 'big ones' enjoyed complete sexual freedom, and could have sexual relations with the wife of a 'virile-warrior' without his opposing it. These 'big ones' brought girls up into the house after sending the 'young ones' away on errands. This freedom was linked to sex, rather than procreation.

Pitched battles take place on two levels: either between boys from the same boys' house, or between the two houses. In the first case, one sub-age-set challenges another, and this is the 'battle for fun', *ma[a]linai* games that take place after the chores are over. These battles teach boys the art of fighting through play and sport, and enable one year-peer to assert its unity with regard to another. In the second case, the two houses challenge each other. According to informants, this is no longer for fun, but involves 'hair-pulling', *mapiŋipiŋiɻ* or *mararbu*. Hostilities commence by a handful of 'young ones' from one of the houses slipping surreptitiously at night under the other house and shaking it hard, or yelling loudly, during the daytime, from the village square. The protagonists always belong to the sub-age-set of *talibatukan*, and they fight in a fallow field on the edge of the village. The battle rages fiercely, and does not end until the combatants are exhausted. Then 'he who plays the leader' orders hostilities to cease and cries 'Stop friends!' As a sign of reconciliation, 'he who plays the leader' of the house initiating the fight gives a piece of pork fat to the enemies to rub their wounds, and is given in return a piece of ginger.[18] This exchange 'does good',[19] as they say. Such fights tend to strengthen the unity of one boys' house against another.

Fear also has to be conquered, and bravery, *maʔinai*, shown, to become a man, *maʔinayan*. Training in bravery takes place every month, on moonless nights, between midnight and two o'clock in the morning. The 'young ones' have to go and fetch an object placed by the 'big ones' in a distant, isolated spot. To find the object, they are forced to take winding, stony, deserted paths. The 'big ones' hide along the way, creating a frightening atmosphere by throwing stones, breaking branches and imitating strange sounds. The 'young ones' then have to prove their bravery while learning to find their way at night, locate unknown places and deliver messages anywhere at all hours of the night. The boys' honesty is also judged, since some of them try to bribe the 'big ones' to hide the object near the village.

The men's house

Description of the building

The building, ten metres by six, has a beaten earth floor and a woven straw roof. The new recruits, *miabubtan*,[20] sleep in the entrance, near the latrines, the bench for resting, the water-carrying bamboos and the *tauliul* bells,[21] which they thread on to their belts every time they go on a mission. A

Figure 6.8 tauliul

bamboo wall separates this corridor from the main room where the men live. Meat is grilled slowly on a shelf hung over the fire.

All bachelors waiting to be married, and also widowers and divorced men, used to live in the men's house. Married men spent their days there. They spent their time preparing for hunting expeditions, carving or sharpening their knives and talking; the young married men sewed and embroidered skirts for their wives.

The six men's houses derived their status from the hunting grounds they were granted. Men from the same house had to hunt together on the same ground. This unit was not only residential, since the 'virile-warrior' lived there until his marriage, but also served as a form of identification until the birth of a child (see Chapter 5).

The men's age-set, like that of the *takubakuban*, is revealed in their costume. 'He who wears the *bubtan*', *miabubtan*, dresses only in a short blue skirt, and is barefoot and bare-chested. The 'virile-warrior' wears chaps like those worn by American cowboys: a long rectangular piece of embroidered material tied at the waist, and behind the thighs, calves and ankles. On top he wears a blue blouse, identical to that worn by women, buttoned at the side; but his main identifying mark is the row of rattles, a gift from his godfather, worn tied to his belt. The godfather must protect his godson, so it is his duty to give him these rattles, with their apotropaic powers, which replace those that the father gave his son at birth. The man of 'in-between' age-set still

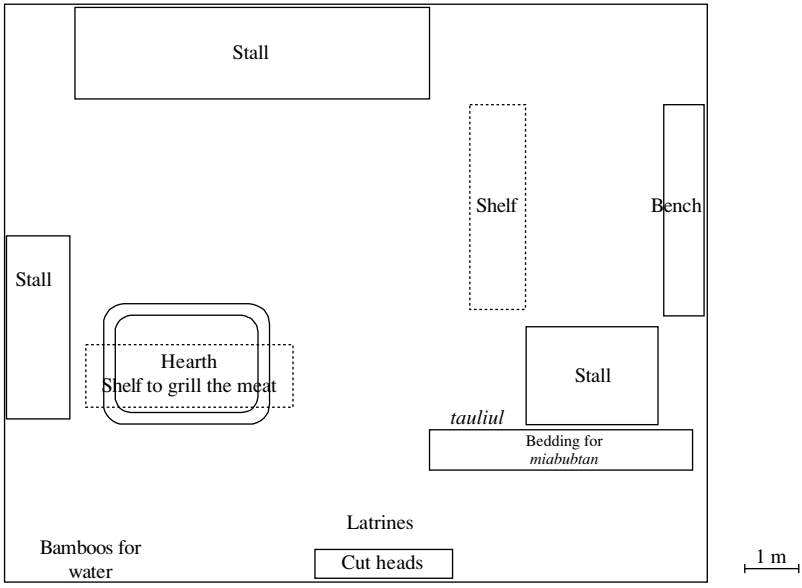


Figure 6.9 Interior of the men's house

wears the same trousers as a 'virile-warrior', but acquires the sleeveless waistcoat of the Elders. The latter gives up the chaps and wears only the sleeveless waistcoat and the hat.

The maŋayaw *ceremonial cycle*

Maŋayaw[22] reinforces socio-cosmic unity thanks to the participation of all the inhabitants, and concentrates the rituals re-ordering the whole of society. This ceremonial cycle must under no circumstances be cut short, and the succession of ten rituals must imperatively be respected.

Each year, during the month of *kapituan*,[23] the council of Elders would say that 'the time for *maŋayaw* has come'. Today, on account of school holidays, the ritual always takes place during the last two weeks of December.

On the first day, the 'virile-warriors' 'renew life', *puba?aw*, and restore the men's and boys' houses with bamboos and elephant grass brought from the mountains the day before. Some pillars are changed, even though the boys do not sleep there any more. The stalls made from bamboo slats are mended, the tenons and mortices of the hearth are carefully put straight and the roofs are entirely re-thatched with freshly cut elephant grass. While the men repair the two buildings, the bamboo diviner designates the male ritual specialists who will officiate at the ceremonial cycle. They carry out the ritual(s) assigned to them by the bamboos, and as soon as their work is

Table 6.6 The *maŋayaw* ritual continuum

Rituals	*Activities*	*Day*	*Time spent*	*Location*	*Participants*
puba'aw	Restoration of men's and boys' houses	1st day	One day	boys' and men's houses	'virile-warriors'
semirap kana dekal	Cleaning the village	2nd day	Morning	ancestral cult houses	2 male practitioners
tinuadekal	Reconsecration of tutelary ancestors	3rd day	Morning	each moiety	2 male practitioners
semaḷikiḍ	Installation of the 'masters of the village gates'	3rd day	Afternoon	Four gates of the village	Male practitioner
meriwak	Construction of the monkey's sacrificial area	3rd day	Evening	Monkey's sacrificial area	'Virile-warriors'
gemamuḷ	Rice-giving ancestors ritual	4th day	Morning	*gemamuḷ* area	Two male practitioners
alabakai ta	Purification of houses	4th day	Night	Each household	*takubakuban*
basibase	Young boys' rite of passage	5th day	One day	Boys' house/ monkey sacrificial area	Boys
maŋayaw	Departure	6th day	Morning	Mountain	Men/Elders Male practitioners
	Hunt	7 and 8th days		Mountain	'Virile-warriors'
	Reception Rite of passage Admission	9th day	Morning	Reception area/ men's house	Entire population
muḍaḍiŋi na baŋsaran	Parade of the 'virile-warriors'	9th day	One night	Each household	New 'virile-warriors'
kalalaman	End of mourning	10th day	One day	Houses of the bereaved	Elders
pubiaw	Offerings to ancestors	After the ceremony	One day	Ancestral cult house	Villagers or relations

Elderly men inform us that formerly they would entirely rebuild the men's house every year, and that the *takubakuban* would rebuild theirs. The day before the *gemamuḷ* rite, between three and four in the morning, the 'big ones' from the boys' house begged for a handful of husked rice in each house, and brought their collection to the Elders in the men's house. Today, it is the 'virile-warriors' who prepare the sacrificial area, since the children have to go to school and do not have enough time. They now build only one area, situated in alternate years in each moiety of the village, whereas before, each moiety built its own area. On the fifth day, the older boys pierce a 'monkey' made from betel leaves, but as we have already mentioned, the monkey used to be a live animal, even a captive, according to MacGovern (1922). Today, two Elders guide the *takubakuban* and help with the ritual singing for the swinging of the monkey, *kemudaw*, since the children, who no longer live in the boys' house, do not have an opportunity to learn it. The stay in the mountains has become considerably shorter: ten years ago, the men spent two weeks in their hunting camp, and formerly, they spent a month. Today, they drink rice alcohol and beer when they are there, which were formerly prohibited; breaking the taboo led to the death of several hunters. Since hunting is forbidden by the authorities, the Puyuma now set traps and only catch rats. Despite these limitations, they still celebrate the prestige of the best 'hunter', and organise competitions. In 1989, the first prize went to the man who caught a pheasant, and the second to the one who caught two rabbits. In earlier years, the men went to the mountains with their companions from their men's house, today they form a single group. The *miabubtan* used to run on foot the entire distance separating them from the village, carrying yokes with loads of up to 50 kg. They have been replaced by lorries.

over, they return to the men's group. The Elders hold counsel. Every year, a problem must be solved.[24] Everyone eats the midday meal together in front of the two buildings, amid rejoicing for the work already done. The ritual finishes when the male ritual practitioner named by the bamboos takes a small piece of each of the building materials used (bamboo, elephant grass, bindings) and purifies the restored buildings. He leaves them at the end of the village specified by the bamboos, with the areca nuts symbolising the 'forces of evil' (such as untimely sneezing, scandalmongering, the songs of birds of evil omen; see Chapter 3).

On the morning of the second day, two male ritual practitioners,[25] accompanied by a few Elders, go in two groups to the ancestral cult house of the founding household of each moiety of the village. They then start 'cleaning the village', *semirap kana dekal*. Inside the little room, the participants prepare the areca nuts, which become charged with the forces of evil contained in the ancestral cult house of the moiety concerned. The ritual practitioner places these nuts on a banana leaf, and, as he turns it, recites a long invocation. When this is finished, he exits, and rolls the nuts in the banana leaf. He then picks up all the dried areca nuts left on the altar, which have been used as metaphoric writing with the ancestors during the previous year's rituals. The men go to the edge of the village, and put all these objects on a small patch of ground, which they clear with great care. The male ritual specialist informs the ancestors using fired clay beads, places the 'offering-nuts' there and throws away the dried-up nuts. The men return, gossiping merrily. When they get back to the ancestral cult house, the ritual practitioner, first in front of the door, then in front of the altar, sends back the ancestors with fired clay beads, and ends the ritual by offering them alcohol. With the glass of rice alcohol in his left hand, he rapidly dips his right index finger in the liquid, and sprinkles it on them.

On the morning of the third day, two groups, each consisting of a male ritual practitioner and a few men, carry out the ritual 'to those who made the village', *tinuadekal*. The tutelary ancestors of each moiety must be reconsecrated (a simple slab of shale, about 30 cm square). These slabs, placed at the entrance of the village, are hidden by long grass and rubbish. They are completely invisible except on this day. The 'virile-warriors' clean up the ground around the slab, while the Elders doze in the sun, and when the area around the slab is clear, the male officiant informs the ancestors by throwing beads, places areca nuts as offerings and then sends the ancestors away.

In the afternoon of the same day, the men form a single group to place bows and arrows, symbols of the 'masters of the village gates', *semaḷikiḍ*. The whole group assembles in the ancestral cult house of the founding group, *Pasara?aḍ*, and a 'virile-warrior' makes these bows and arrows out of bamboo. When his work is done, the male ritual practitioner recites a short invocation asking the mythical ancestors to protect the village. The men leave quietly, first towards the gate of the upper moiety, where the same

ritual officiant informs the spiritual beings. Then a man from the group fixes a strung bow on each side of the road, with the arrow pointing outwards from the village to frighten any restless spirits who might attempt to enter. Finally, a wick made of banyan root is lit, in order to purify all the materials used for making the bows and arrows, and the group leaves for the west, south and east gates to perform the same ritual.

On the evening of the third day, the 'virile-warriors' 'clean', *meriwak*, on the edge of the village, the area where the monkey will be sacrificed when the boys's rite of passage is performed on the fifth day. Thin bamboo stems are planted, about 50 cm apart, to form a square with sides of about two and a half metres. The stems are attached together with flexible bamboo bindings, so that there is an enclosed space on three sides. They also build, at a distance, the hut for the 'coward'. Building takes place good-humouredly, with some men preparing the bindings, others sawing, others planting. Once the work is done, a 'virile-warrior' thanks the ancestors for guiding them by sprinkling them with rice alcohol.

On the morning of the fourth day two male ritual practitioners go separately to the upper and lower village gates to perform the ritual of thanks to the ancestors who gave the rice that is used as food, *gemamuɭ*, 'go to *gamuɭ*'. The one who performs this ritual in the upper moiety goes to the *gamuɭ* area situated facing the ancestral mountain. In this spot, there is a small rock overgrown with grass, where, as the legend goes, 'once, the two brothers Demaruai and Kemarakue borrowed husked rice from the two ancestors Lebleb and Mudebdeb who lived on the ancestral mountain'. He goes to *gamuɭ*, usually very early in the morning, but always before lunch. He clears the ground around the rock, makes offerings of areca nuts, recites an invocation turning towards the four cardinal points, then finishes the ritual by throwing three handfuls of husked rice on to the rock while belching noisily: this is the Puyuma way of thanking the two ancestors for their gift, since they are well fed today.

Throughout the night between the fourth and the fifth days, the boys from the *takuban* perform the *alabakai ta*, 'enter into us', ritual.

On the fifth day the rite of passage, *basibase*, takes place for the boys.

On the sixth day, the 'virile-warriors' and Elders go up to the mountain by lorry, motorcycle or car. Half-way there, after passing the limits of their former original village site and their fields, a male ritual specialist performs a separation rite, by building a barrier of three reed stems laid on the metalled road, *ɭaɭekawaŋ*. Each man must cross this line, throwing behind him a fired clay bead, thus sending away the spiritual beings of the domestic world who may have followed him. These spirits must not be allowed to reach the mountain camp, where they would be in conflict with those of the mountain. When they get near to their hunting site, the men erect a boundary mark using the tall roadside grasses, to mark the area forbidden to women.[26] The mountain belongs to men. The 'virile-warriors' fell trees and cut the

bindings necessary to make their shelters. One or two male ritual practitioners purify the camp by taking a small piece of each of the materials used, and placing an areca nut in each of the four corners of their now-sacred space. As for the 'renewal of life' ritual, *puba?aw*, these little pieces are thrown outside the camp with the three and five 'nut offerings', accompanied by an invocation to the spirits. A woman may enter the camp before purification, but is strictly forbidden to enter for the rest of the stay. The young *miabubtan* make a shelf out of large, non-contiguous logs, which is placed on four stakes about one and a half metres high. A male ritual practitioner performs the *purinakep*, 'attract', rite, thus asking for plentiful game. On the seventh and eighth days, the 'virile-warriors' set traps, the old men hold meetings and the *miabubtan* take care of camp maintenance. On the night between the eighth and ninth days, the men spend their time repeating ritual chants, while drinking rice alcohol served by the boys. At sunrise on the ninth day, the boys about to leave the boys' house join the camp, and undergo the rite of passage that enables them to enter the men's house marginally for three years. Their godfathers put the blue skirt, *bubtan*, around their waists. Everyone sings in chorus. The men are moved to tears, and the translation is but a pale imitation of the profound meaning of the text. In fact, these songs are heavily charged with confraternity.[27]

Shaken by the wind

Here is the great wind,
The wind that blows from the north,
That shakes the flowers and the miscanthus
Spreading their seeds all over the wilderness,
All over the mountainside,
Sowing them broadcast
In the furrows and hillocks,
Where the boar and deer hide.
The Elders, the wise men
Guide the hunt
Of the young men surrounding the game.

The victor

He succeeds our ancestors
He succeeds the victors.
There, in the north, on Mount Aranung
The *dapas*[28] bird sings.
He listens to its song,
In tune like the bamboo *limuḍus*.
As soon as he rises, he shakes himself,

He runs, staggering,
he runs, becoming tipsy.
The landscape fades away,
The track flies past.
He feels no pain
Until he reaches the mountain
Far away in Apangan.

Camp is struck and the group return by the same means of transport. But a few kilometres from the village the men leave their vehicles so they can arrive on foot. The 'virile-warriors' tie on their trousers and put on their belts of rattles, the newly promoted age-set of 'those who wear the *bubtan*' carry the yokes, running with them to the village. The 'virile-warriors' accompany the Elders at a slow jog, rhythmed by the sound of rattles. This line of men is welcomed by the women in a circular area marked out by bamboos, which they have built during the men's absence.[29] All the women are present, carrying baskets filled with crowns of flowers that they pile on the men's heads and round their necks. Some faces disappear beneath the flowers, whereas other men receive only one or two crowns; they are not renowned for their bravery! The Elders put on their waistcoats, and sitting in the middle of the reception area, intone the ritual songs, taken up by the 'virile-warriors', who remain standing in the outer circle.

Meanwhile, a few dozen metres from the reception area, mourning is ended, and the families who have until then remained at a distance join in the festivities. When the singing ends, the crowd moves towards the men's house. At this time, the godfathers admit their godsons who have finished their three marginal years in the men's house, by exchanging the blue skirt for a black one, and placing a crown of loosetrife on the *miabubtan*'s heads. They remain barefoot and bare-chested. Then everyone, men and women, begins dancing, which will last for three successive nights. In the evening, these *miabubtan*, newly promoted 'virile-warriors', take off their black skirts and put on the costume of their new age-set, and all night long they may be followed from house to house in their 'virile-warriors' parade. On the morning of the tenth day, the Elders go to houses where a bereavement has taken place since the last ceremonial cycle, in order to drive out the miasmas of death by their song of sorrow, *kalaman*, 'great pity'. The houses and the mourners can now rejoin social life.

Integration

Recruitment into the men's house takes place at about 18 years of age. When the boy reaches the end of his training in the boys' house, his father[30] chooses a godfather for him among the age-set of the Elders. The first recruitment rite takes place in the mountains on the ninth day of *maŋayaw*.

At sunrise, just before returning to the village, all the godfathers in line, or one after the other, tie a blue skirt, *bubtan*, round the waists of their godsons, while reminding the new recruits of their duties. The boy becomes a *miabubtan*, 'he who wears the *bubtan*'. His term of reference and address is *tan*, which may be loosely translated as 'bachelor'.

During the three following years, 'he who wears the *bubtan*' is physically marginalised in the men's house, where he sleeps in the entrance. He goes to sleep last, rises first and does all the chores such as fetching water, gathering wood or delivering messages harnessed to a bell, *tauliul*. During stays in the mountains, he sleeps beneath the feet of his godfather, who summons him with a simple kick. He does not wage war or hunt – the glories of war are reserved for the 'virile-warrior' – but takes part in camp maintenance and performs ancillary duties. He must not drink alcohol, smoke or chew betel, and all sexual relations are now forbidden. If he transgresses the rules, he is given a *bubtan* skirt, off-white rather than black. When he helps his godfather in the fields, he refuses to eat; he must constantly prove his bravery.

After his three years' marginalisation, aged about 21, he becomes a 'virile-warrior', *baŋsaran*,[31] and keeps this age-grade until the age of 60. After returning from the hunt on the ninth day of the ceremonial cycle, inside the men's house his godfather exchanges the blue skirt for a black one. Barefoot and bare-chested, the men and women immediately whisk him off to join the dance that ends the great *maŋayaw* festival. For society, and for his future parents-in-law, he adopts the name of his men's house as a term of reference and address. The same evening, he puts on his 'virile-warrior' costume and 'parades' from house to house. He may now hunt, wage war and marry.[32] Integration into the men's house takes place in two stages: the

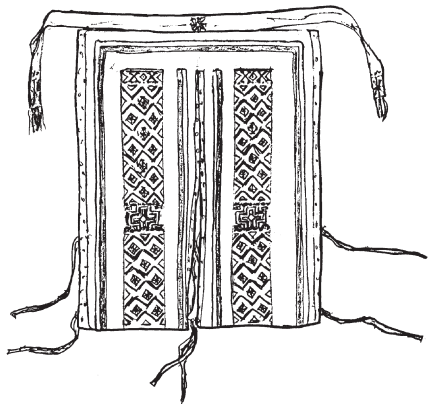


Figure 6.10 Virile-warrior's chaps, *katiŋ*

first in the mountains, the second three years later in the men's house when his godfather changes his skirt. A symbolic death in the mountains marks the end of adolescence, and the rebirth takes place in the village in the course of the cycle of renewal of the components of society, but the young boy has to give death to an *alter ego* who replaces him.

Until the beginning of the twentieth century, this age-set was attained following the murder of an enemy of choice,[33] *ʔalaʔala*. At the end of the great annual cycle, the bachelor preparing to become a 'virile-warrior' had to bring back a head. After his return from this expedition, the warrior waited in a hut built at one of the village gates – since he and the head were not allowed to enter the village – while the men from his men's house went to hunt a muntjak. The severed head's spirit might inflict calamities if it came into contact with the villagers: death, famine, poor hunting. A male ritual practitioner, accompanied by 'virile-warriors', performed the 'rite of the deer' in the ancestral cult house to which the head-hunter belonged. Meanwhile, the postulant lived in an intimate relationship with this head, which he fed[34] and called 'friend'. He would worry: 'We are friends, otherwise how could you have come to me so trustingly?'[35] For the warrior to be able to enter the village and separate himself from the spirit of the severed head, the ancestors' mediation was required. Inside the ancestral cult house a male ritual specialist made a substitute body out of millet paste, which enabled the spirit of the enemy of choice to be separated from the warrior. Once the head was freed from its spirit, it was placed on the shelf over the latrines in the men's house, where it remained for seven days and seven nights[36] before being put on the skull-rack made for severed heads at the edge of the village. Thanks to this murder, legitimated by the whole of society, the young bachelor acquired the lasting status of 'virile-warrior'.

Towards the age of 50, a perceptible transition comes into view. The 'virile-warrior' puts on the sleeveless waistcoat,[37] *lumbaw*, typical of the Elders, but he still wears the chaps that denote the status of 'virile-warriors'. Today, men say that they wear the waistcoat because they are 50, and it is difficult to find out what formerly obliged them to change clothes. It is nevertheless obvious that a man is on the threshold of a change. He continues to wage war and hunt. When he returns from the mountains at the end of the ceremonial cycle, he acquires the privilege of sitting with the Elders inside the inner circle, instead of standing in the outer circle reserved for 'virile-warriors'. But he does not yet take part in Elders' meetings and under no circumstances may he be given the title of godfather. He is situated, so to speak, in an intermediate period where he no longer completely belongs to the 'virile-warriors', but is not yet admitted to the circle of Elders.

At the age of about 60, he becomes an elder, and stops waging war and hunting. He wears the elder's waistcoat and hat, *kabun*. He takes part in Elders' meetings, plays an active part in making decisions concerning the village and exerts ritual power. He thus controls the warlike and matrimonial

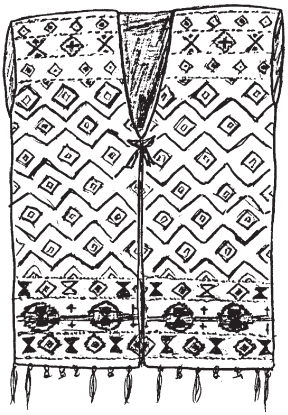


Figure 6.11 Elder's waistcoat, *lumbaw*

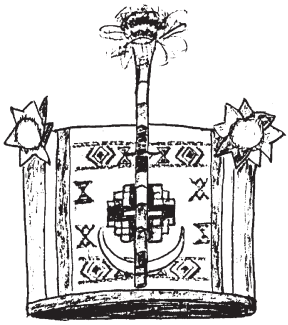


Figure 6.12 Elder's hat, *kabun*

ambitions of the young men. He may be chosen as a godfather. He has reached the fullness of age, he is 'an Elder, a wise man'.

We note that on this scale, progressions are heterogeneous. For adolescents, they are automatic, since the boy becomes a young man and then a 'virile-warrior' according to his age; in other terms, entry into the two successive houses depends on age. On the contrary, entry into the final two age-sets is governed by a logic that is not immediately analysable, which involves ageing, but also other conditions linked to the relationship between these age-sets and the rest of the social organisation. How can we interpret an age-system of this type? Some definite elements are provided by the system itself, but others need to be more thoroughly investigated, especially the father/son and godfather/godson relationships.

Relationships generated by the system

The father/son relationship

At this point, we return to the long original myth that orders society, certain elements of which throw light onto the father/son relationship. The story goes that the two brothers Aʔunayan and Aʔibuʔan, born from the marriage of *miwali tu kuti*, 'toothed vagina', at the origin of the Puyuma, with the chief of the village of Katipul, were the builders of the first *takuban*. After their mother's death, the two brothers, raised in Katipul, went to live with their maternal grandmother in Puyuma. The younger brother killed his sister, thinking she was a snake. This unwitting fratricide banished them from the village. They then stole sugar cane from their neighbours, the Laḻanes. The younger brother was captured and shut up inside a high stockade, where he

is said to have been fed on snakes, centipedes and worms. The elder made a kite and freed his brother. Then . . . but let us use the words of the story told by Kaolim and Gulum from the *Pikel* household:

> The two brothers Aʔunayan and Aʔibuʔan built the first house on pillars, the boys' house, *takuban*, on this mountain, in Bulabulak. 'We are moving into the boys' house', they informed everyone, and told their father not to come. 'What? But when the two brothers, Aʔunayan and Aʔibuʔan, see me, won't they come running to meet me?' To passers-by, they repeated, 'Tell our father not to come.' The father disobeyed and came. 'Hahaha, the father has come out.' His copper hat shone. What was his hat made of? Of copper. 'Hahaha, we told him not to come, but he has come out, why has he disobeyed?' These two brothers jumped from the platform of the boys' house and hid. The elder, the more fearful of the two, could do nothing, so the younger went, and his knife went *ŋa* on his father. These are the words spoken by our Elders.
>
> They went and took the father. With his blood, they daubed the walls of the *takuban*. It is said that they caught all kinds of diseases. The younger became an invalid. So they asked questions. When one kills one's father, a sacrifice must be made to the ancestors, the 'rite of the deer', by trapping a muntjak,[38] *ura.* They questioned the East and the *sirut* bird. The bird spoke too fast, and they understood nothing. 'Since it is like that, let us ask our grandmother to translate.' In the West, the *tekuer* bird said 'Ramie, ramie, trap, trap, muntjak, *pubiaw*.' So they performed the 'rite of the deer', *pubiaw*, and the younger recovered his health. He was no longer an invalid. His body was cured.

This myth illustrates two permanent breaks: the first between the birth household and the boys – the brothers kill their sister, heir to the family inheritance; the second between the father and his sons. It is true that sons no longer kill their father, but the head cut from an *alter ego*, brought home during the *maŋayaw* ritual, is a substitute. By being capable of bringing home an enemy's head – a symbol of the fertility of the earth and the acquisition of a fertile wife,[39] but also fruitful hunting – the son becomes a 'virile-warrior', which gives him the right to procreate. The son obliges his father to change age-set and forgo procreation; this right cannot be shared, and the son takes it. The intermediate 'in-between' age-set nevertheless moderates the father's transition. This age-set is linked to the prohibition of procreation, but not of hunting, as proved by the simultaneous wearing of the warrior's chaps and the Elder's waistcoat. The father of a 21-year-old son is certainly not 60, but about 50.[40] Each generation used to wait until the age of about 30 before having their first child, thus enabling the father not

to be rejected too young into this intermediate stage of 'non-procreators'. Although the newly initiated 'virile-warrior' is legitimately allowed to procreate, the Elders used to marry him to a girl too young to have children – at the age of about 13, some had not reached puberty. The young man then waited in the men's house and the girl in her parents' house, before giving birth to children. The 'virile-warrior' age-set leads to marriage but not immediately to procreation. The young couples' forced wait before actual procreation may be compared to the account given by Father Candidius,[41] who, in 1628, reported infanticide by Siraya mothers aged under 35. These statements, which must be approached with caution, suggest that a wait before child-bearing is a very ancient custom, and could be related to age-sets within the age-system. It is the man's age that must be taken into account, not the woman's. The wait to acquire Elder status is given shape by the small privileges already mentioned. But a man's real destiny is to reach the highest age-set of Elder, when he loses his right to procreate in favour of another, which represents the pinnacle of his life, that of being godfather.

What about their wives? The trophy gives the men the principle of fertility,[42] whereas the women appropriate child-bearing. Little girls could be married very young, but they performed their household duties[43] in their childhood home, until their husband was old enough to procreate. Under the age of 50, when their husbands became 'in-between', they also entered an intermediate category, 'ear-tufts', i.e. 'having hairs in their ears'. At this point in the scale, the men impose a social menopause on the women; they are old because their ears are bordered with hairs, and they must have no more children. The woman who ceases child-bearing acquires, in her turn, a status whose attributes are derived from war, though in a theatrical fashion, and which complements her husband's continuing status as a warrior. She wears a man's large knife in her belt, during the festivals. The oligantropic demographic regime was governed by a system of age-sets, probably assisted by infant mortality of the 'traditional type', i.e. recurrent increases in mortality brought about by malnutrition/epidemic cycles. The result was a low growth rate, observed by the Japanese.

In Puyuma, is there a dilemma between age and generation? The limits imposed on men's and women's procreation lead us to think that society saw itself as two categories – 'that which fertilises' and 'that which has fertilised' – placing the *takubakuban* outside this structure. Both sexes are concerned, as can be seen in the two intermediate age-sets, those of 'in between' and 'ear-tufts'. These systems rely on constant vigilance to ensure that equality remains the driving force, maintaining the balance between men and women, young and old. Stability and demographic balance are proofs of the vitality of a system leading to oliganthropy. The Puyuma achieved their ultimate aim, which was to curb population growth,[44] a necessary goal in a horticulturist population.

At this point, it is important to cite some of Shepherd's (1995) arguments regarding birth control among the Siraya, who, according to Father

Candidius, practised systematic abortion for all births occurring to women before the age of 30–35. Among other arguments, the author writes: 'Perhaps Sirayan women, disgusted by the behavior of young men who came around only for sex, who contributed little to agricultural production, and who spent the bulk of their time with their male comrades in sport, the hunt, and warfare, were refusing to bear children until the men survived their warrior years, settled down, began to contribute to agriculture, and could share the burdens of farming and child rearing.' It seems to me that this argument relies on twentieth-century Western values. In any case, Puyuma women did not see the division of tasks in this way, and, moreover, are happy to talk about their sexual fulfilment, and the bravery of their menfolk who kept the peace and protected them during their work in the fields (see Chapter 5). Another of the author's suggestions is: 'We may speculate (without evidence) that in mandating abortions postmenopausal priestesses were motivated by jealousy of the fecundity of young women or by material interest aimed at maximizing ritual fees and/or female agricultural labor, or even that they were championing the rights of young women against the demands of men for more children.' Here again, the author provides the aborigines with values that are not their own. First, Puyuma shamans only received a few areca nuts in payment,[45] and I doubt that the Sirayan 'priestesses' were paid substantial fees. The shamans, postmenopausal or not, certainly did not rejoice over the death of a child, even *in utero*, since their function was above all to manage the cosmic order, so it is necessary to find a social rule rather than insist on the 'Freudian' aspect.[46] If Father Candidius's accounts are accurate, it may be assumed that the son entered the categoriy of procreators late in life so as to give his father the opportunity to remain in this category as long as possible. The genetic activity of an individual is considered dangerous for the individual of the following generation. Procreation is an inherited right, exercised for a while, then passed on. Genetic energy exists in limited quantities, and that which has been acquired by the death of an enemy at a given time becomes exhausted (see Peatrick 1999: 68–9).

The godfather/godson relationship

Within the boys' house, the 'big ones' are responsible for the initiation of the 'young ones', whereas in the men's house, the godfather is in charge of his godson's education, since the latter enters a men's house that is always different from his father's,[47] and may be in the same, or the other moiety. The godfather must be an Elder, and therefore aged at least 60, so there is always a minimum age difference of 40 years between him and his godson. The Puyuma choose a godfather on account of his prestige, or for his gifts as a ritual practitioner or a hunter,[48] or for his daughter of marriageable age. The last case is not very frequent. Some men may be godfather to

several godsons in the same year, or sometimes an elder brother followed by a younger one a few years later. The godfather need not possess any (recognised) family links with his godson's family. According to our survey, the tendency is to choose a godfather from the mother's household in cases of uxorilocal residence, or from the father's household if residence is virilocal.

The godson serves his godfather. He hunts for him, since the older man no longer practises this activity, but his service ends with the birth of his first child; here again, putting off the moment of procreation enables the godfather to take advantage of his godson for a longer period. Let us not forget that the godson sleeps under his godfather's feet, and the latter enjoys the privileges of the wife of the household, and physically keeps his godson 'under the soles of his feet', *i daduas* (see Chapter 5). After the Japanese forbade hunting, godsons started to help their godfathers in the fields.[49]

At about 13 years of age, the son leaves his childhood home, ruled by women. Five years later, he leaves it permanently to follow his godfather, and domestic ties are broken. At the age of 21, a man becomes a 'virile-warrior', which may still be his father's age-set. Whereas a father and son cannot belong to the same men's house, the godfather/godson link, established by the father's choice, is a substitute for the father/son relationship. Men always remember their godfather. Let us not forget that the godfather has a seat in the council of Elders and thus plays a determining role in his godson's marriage. Men can easily trace the genealogy linking them to their godfather, if such a link exists.

The godfather/godson relationship is a lasting one, and this adoption, which resumes the principle of seniority, dominates that of paternity. The filiation between godfather and godson shows the predominance of the godfather (social father) over the *genitor* (physical father) – of the age-system over filiation. The father-figure is dispossessed, he gives his son to another, in another place. This handover is given symbolic form by the exchange of the belt of rattles. At his son's birth, the father recognises his paternity and assures his son of his protection by wrapping him in protective rattles. This gift also proves to the child that, despite his education, he is different from girls, and that his future life will take place according to the age-system. This recognition of the child continues into the boys' house, and is linked to that of the women who bring him food and medicine. The young man moves gradually away from his birth household. But as soon as the godfather takes charge of the young man, he makes his paternity known by the gift of a new belt of rattles.

Young boys have a strong desire to enter the boys' house. They are in a condition of social minority as long as they share the same tasks as girls and are under the authority of women. Their integration among their comrades is the start of the period of gestation. During the rite of passage, the 'coward' is shut up in a small hut, isolated from the competitions and the monkey

sacrifice. The child curls up inside this 'egg' in a foetal position. He has failed his initiation and missed the collective gestation of his coevals; he cannot go back, and has to undergo his own personal gestation in order to catch up with his peers. His mother refuses to speak to him, she is ashamed of her son, the Puyuma say; in fact she does not take part in this new social birth into the world of men. Women give birth to children, not to men. A few years later, the godfather takes charge of the initiation of his godson, who spends the first three years dressed only in a short skirt. This period is another gestation, and the young man reaches his age-set of 'virile-warrior' 'naked' – it is his social birth. The sexual freedom of the 'big ones' of the boys' house gives way to a three-year period of abstinence, for regeneration and rebirth as domestic sexuality; the arrows shot by 'he who plays the elder' in the sacrificial area at the end of the rite of passage, *basibase*, are a virile symbol of the end of this sexual freedom on entry into the men's house. The boy is born unfinished; his social existence begins with the birth of his first child, and the final outcome of this long self-gestation is to become a godfather. The 'renewal of life' ritual suggests that access to a new age-set is considered as a stage in this self-gestation process.

Age-system and marriage

The parents' residence determines the child's filiation. Although uxorilocality seems to be the preferred choice, the percentage of patrilocality is not negligible. It should be added that certain couples change residence between the births of two children. The choice of residence does not follow any strict rules, but depends on other factors, such as wealth, the superior status of one of the households (it is more prestigious to bear the name of the founding house, *pasaraʾaḍ*, than the name of a small unit) or simply necessity; for example, an only son.

The only negative rule of marriage actually expressed theoretically eliminates all cousins up to the degree of third cousin from the list of possible spouses. However, we note that marriages between cousins of the second, third and fourth generations are the usual rule. The choice of residence in the marriage usually makes it possible not to marry a spouse with the same household name, which is naturally situated in one or the other moiety. Marriages are not contracted according to the wishes of the family only. The grand annual ritual for the regeneration of society, *maŋayaw*, was also the moment when the council of Elders met to arrange the marriages of the new 'virile-warriors'. The role of the Elders, and thus of the age-system, is vital to marriages. It seems obvious, even though they strongly deny it, that the Elders remember past marriages in order to apply the 'unspoken rule', and possibly to send back to a household a man or woman formerly given.

Uxorilocality enables the Elders to create networks thanks to marriages of their young sons or godsons. In this way, the men exert control over their

daughters and their husbands. The custom enables men to wage war and carry out head-hunting expeditions without the risk of conflicts between groups allied by matrimonial exchanges. This may explain marriages with the Paiwan, to obtain peace. If patrilocality brings men together, uxorilocality disperses them, and creates institutions, like the age-system, ordering the relationships between the men in the group on a basis other than that of consanguinity, and develops transversal groups of relationships. Murdoch (1949: 214) writes: 'a nearly universal association between matrilocal residence in sedentary communities and local endogamy'. We may therefore suggest that consanguinity is a sub-system, or, to use the words of Rousseau (1987: 186), in non-unilinear societies in south-east Asia 'consanguinity is often unimportant in social organisation'. In other terms, in a non-unilinear society, and in the absence of strict prohibitions and prescriptions, consanguinity does not provide structure, but appears instead as a sub-system.

Is there any connection between the age-system and the political organisation of the village?

Age-system, moieties and political processes

The age-system is at the heart of politics, since it is where men's work is done. This role is particularly apparent in the relations linking it to another elementary division in society, that of the division of the village into moieties. The age-system both stems from it and goes beyond it, thus creating the unity of the village.

Behind the obvious dual organisation, a more basic triadic structure may be glimpsed. The spatial aspect of the relation between two groups is evident in the dual organisation of the village, since the space is divided into identical moieties, *ami* and *timuɬ*, each containing three founding households, along with its men's house and hunting ground, and a boys' house. But the moieties entertain a complementary unequal relationship with each other. The *ami* moiety has a certain number of recognised privileges, in view of the fact that *ami* is more ancient than *timuɬ*, that it contains the ancestral cult house of the founders of the village unit with the *sacra*, the sanctuary where all the rituals for the reordering of society take place, and it also takes precedence for the harvest. Does Puyuma society hide a triadic structure? When the men go to the mountains on the sixth day of *maŋayaw*, they stop a few kilometres away from the village, at the edge of the fields they used to farm when they lived in the old village. There, the male ritual practitioners make a barrier of miscanthus on the ground, recite a few invocations, and each hunter crosses the barrier on foot, by motorcycle or by lorry, throwing behind him a fired clay bead. Any *birua* who may have followed them are sent back to the domestic world. On the return journey, they perform the same ritual and stop to put on their party clothes and sing, in a space

constructed by the women on the outer border of the village, the *ɭaɭuwanan*. The space surrounding the village, *dekal*, is made up of the fields, *ʔuma*, and beyond them the hunting grounds in the mountains, *ʔalup*. The three terms make up a new triad, *dekall/ʔumal/ʔalup*. This triadic structure shows the spatial relation between society *in toto* and the non-social world. This structure is an expression of an ecological relation, divorced from the dualism of the social system. When we observe the dual organisation of the village we note that the households and the men's houses, where men and women live, are guarded by the boys of the *takuban* built just inside the village gates, and that the boys fought in the fields just outside the village. The *takubakuban* are outside the system, just occupying the edge of the village space. In the centre of the village, according to elderly informants and Japanese texts, there used to be a hall, where men and women assembled, and where the women did their weaving.

The Puyuma consciously adhere to ideologies and social practices characterised by the constituent oppositions of which they are the synthesis. Each moiety is made up of two units, one representing the tendency towards autonomy, the other the concession that each is willing to make to contribute to the village's unity. Reciprocity is stronger than inequality.

The autonomy of the moieties may be observed on several levels, first of all in the six men's houses, whose names are different, in the initiations that take place independently – these houses, it must be remembered, are not only residential in character but provide an identity for the bachelors and young married, childless men – and in the rituals performed at the same time in different places. In the two boys' houses, the pitched battles confirm the independence of each moiety. This undeniable tendency towards autonomy of each moiety is attenuated by several elements that, on the contrary, show a leaning towards the integration of the moieties: first, there is a homogenisation of names of age-sets in the two age-classes, and transversal recruitment of men. The age-system therefore represent a cohesive force in the village as a whole. Second, the *primus inter pares* of each men's house is elected according to his powers of command, so all households can aspire to this function. The final element making for village unity is the formation of two age-grades, one of warriors and the other of seniors; the former defends the village and the latter holds considerable power. The perfect symmetry of the moieties is thus endangered, and the cohesion of the age-system is a force on the scale of the whole village.

Puyuma society possesses a primordial unity that gave rise to a dual organisation. It thus combines history and social structure. The primordial unity consists of the *ami* moiety, which is seen as hierarchically superior and inclusive. This society is derived from an initial whole that is its biological and sociological origin.

We must also mention the existence of a village chief, even if his role is a secondary one. This personage does not belong to the age-set of Elders, he

is a 'virile-warrior'; his status is not hereditary. According to the Puyuma, he was formerly chosen from the men of the founding household of the upper moiety, the founders of the community.[50] According to eighteenth-century historical chronicles, the Imperial Court nominated Pinadai, a *Raera*, 'great king of Peinan'. His power, acquired from the Chinese administration, was strengthened by the Japanese, but, according to Fujisaki (1928: 194), 'The power of the chiefs is very limited' – today his role is that of mayor in relation to the Taiwanese state, and he is always seconded by a civil servant. A woman from the same household, Taʔata, occupied this position during the Japanese occupation, and her role was centred on relations with the colonial powers. The Elders did not transfer their powers to the chief, and his presence, apparently, did not change the various functions of the council of Elders; their power is pre-eminent, even though it is not a gerontocracy. There therefore exists both an 'endogenous' and an 'exogenous' power. The chief, in contrast to the Elders, can at any time be deprived of his functions. Puyuma enjoys collective power. The age-system is one of the essential components of the organisation of society. The nomination of a woman as the political head of the village at the beginning of the twentieth century illustrates clearly that the age-system dominates the power of chiefdom, which is what the myth tells us when the boys killed their father, the village chief. The designation of a chief outside any considerations of household makes him a person invested with the village principle. The separation of the powers of chiefdom and those of age-sets makes the co-existence of both institutions possible. 'Chiefdom is not in itself the institutional form assumed by political and social control, since it is subjected to much of the same control' (Guiart 1963: 646). The representative of the unity of society is neither the political nor the religious head (the latter is elected by the bamboos before each ritual, so he possesses no absolute power), but the ancestral cult house of the founding ancestors. This house represents the unity of the complementary and opposing powers of the whole society contained in the *sacra*,[51] which protect everyone. The invocations pronounced in the ancestral cult house compare the founding ancestors to iron.

The buildings of the age-system are part of the territorial organisation, and therefore of the moieties. Each moiety has its men's houses and boys' house. However, the age-system is also the means by which transversal links are developed, overlapping this organisation in moieties. A man's affiliation to his men's house is limited by the single taboo that he must not reside in the same one as his father; the house must be chosen from one of the other five buildings. The age-sets and promotion system that is disturbed by the great annual ritual concerns all men, whatever their affiliation to a men's house of any moiety. The myth must certainly not be taken lightly: the chief-father was killed because he infringed the order of age-classes founded by his sons. Power is in the hands of the age-sets and the system moulds an egalitarian village society.

Head-hunting

Relevance of head-hunting

It is difficult today to know about the opportunities for head-hunting. In 1966, Father Schröder (Schröder and Quack 1979: 48) had already obtained contradictory responses. According to informants:

> As far as occasions and frequency of head-hunts are concerned, informants give different versions. Valikai maintains that they went head-hunting regularly during the harvest and sowing seasons. According to her, it was only done during periods of hostility against other villages, mainly as revenge for attacks from enemy head-hunters. According to Apra, every year before the millet harvest, a head-hunt used to take place. Apra mentions other circumstances, for example, a punitive expedition, when enemy head-hunters had penetrated Katipul territory, or a test of courage, a way for young men in need of distinction to prove their bravery. It was also a means of arbitration in disputes. If one of the protagonists felt he had been unfairly condemned, he went head-hunting. If he returned victorious, the case was settled in his favour. Avuso tells us that every year, before seedtime, a head-hunting expedition took place. Before performing the rites prior to sowing, the men went to hunt heads.

For the Puyuma, it is difficult to know the frequency of expeditions. It seems that hunts were organised by the men's house. They insist on saying that the 'virile-warrior' had to prove his bravery regularly. They remember that a head had to be brought back to ensure promotion into the age-set of 'virile-warriors'. This information is confirmed by photos taken by the Japanese administration at the beginning of the twentieth century, in which each young man can be seen holding a head. It seems that this part of the body was chosen since it is identifiable and contains vital energy. Informants mention expeditions organised by households to avenge a relative: 'To a stolen head corresponds a reclaimed head,' say the Puyuma, adding 'My descendant is dead, my ancestor is dead, it is very bad if I do not cut off a head.'

They do not forget to speak of defending their territory:

> If we are not brave, will our frontiers not be crossed?
> Wherever our frontiers with strangers are, they must not be crossed.
> Have they been violated?
> We will have revenge.
> That is what we say.

But how well are these frontiers that enemies must not cross defined? Mabuchi (1974: 180) writes: 'In this connection, we must mention first the headhunting expeditions which were common to all the ethnic groups except the Yami on the Botel Tobago Island and were usually carried on far beyond the hunting areas. Such an expedition requires a wider geographical knowledge, while the expedition in turn results in expanding the sphere of geographical knowledge.'

Informants always insist on mentioning that the man who brought back a head would have a good harvest. 'If we do not capture an enemy, we will have no energy, and we will not have good harvests.' The *pualibunan* ('vengeance') song shows that the search for a head is a dangerous expedition:

The enemy comes from the north.
Of the path he has taken,
We can see only footprints.
This solitary walker is a threat,
As fierce as a boar,
As fierce as a bear.
At dawn, they rise.
It is a meeting
Between brave men.
The intruder wears flowers,
And what flowers!
Image of a grinning water-melon.
All decorated with flowers,
Like a woman.
The villagers come running
To admire the lifeless thing.
Placed on a heap of stones
It is still beaming.

Men beheaded enemies during the Second World War. Each year, at the end of the ceremonial cycle, they go to the site of the skull-rack, where they make a substitute body out of miscanthus stems, they put on their best clothes and, with the help of a male ritual practitioner chosen by a bamboo diviner, they erect a stone altar, *pualib*. The *benabulu* performs the ritual, *pakan kananku ʔala*,[52] 'feed my *ʔala*', by setting out offerings of wine, meat and vegetables, and figurines on the altar. The men go round the altar three times and give a backwards kick, thus completely destroying it. If a warrior does not perform this ritual every year, he will infallibly become ill.

Social value of head-hunting

Formerly, to become a 'virile-warrior', at the age of 21,[53] and to be permanently accepted in the men's house, it was necessary to bring back a head.

The head enabled a young man to achieve the age-set of 'virile-warrior': he abandoned his ancillary duties of camp maintenance in the mountains and his chores in the men's house. However, despite the upheavals caused by the Japanese occupation, followed by the arrival of the Chinese administration, the Puyuma still perform the annual ceremonial cycle. The entire society takes part, first of all the children, then the youths, the men and the women, who welcome the men and cover them in flowers. Absentees pay a fine, albeit a symbolic one, which represents the duty of taking part in the ritual to remain a member of the community, and for this reason, emigrants return from the big cities to participate in the ceremony.

Maŋayaw is much more than a ritual head-hunt, a rite of passage or a purification rite: it encompasses all these rituals. It is the beginning of the new year, the moment of reproduction of society, where new couples are united, and a new generation of adolescents join the age-system. It ensures a reproductive function, which is the reason for its periodicity. This great festival reveals the social structure, the age-system, the political and ritual hierarchy and prestige. *Maŋayaw* reveals outside hierarchies, and all the men wear the costume of their age-set. The prestige of certain persons can be seen in the number of crowns that the village women pile on their heads, around their necks and sometimes even on their motorcycles. This reputation is linked to ritual life – an Elder reputed for his wisdom or his knowledge of rituals and myths – or to political life – the chief, a member of parliament, a former member of parliament or a town councillor. It is undoubtedly the Elders who enjoy the greatest prestige, since it is they who initiate the young men, make them into 'virile-warriors' and arrange their marriages. For the boys, sub-age-sets are revealed through costume, and the roles played in the boys' house are revealed through the space occupied both in the house and during the ceremony. The 'coward' does not take part, remains at a distance, but he leads the procession towards the sacrificial area, carrying the front end of the stick to which the effigy is tied, while the 'big one' who has been elected by the *takubakuban* 'to play the role of the elder' holds the rear end. These two characters are essential, and symbolise the young men's careers, from the weakest (the 'coward') to the bravest (the 'elder').

Of course, the main absentee from the ceremonial cycle is the head. Today, the rite of passage to 'virile-warrior' status is symbolised only by the exchange of a blue skirt for a black one by the godfather, but this transition was formerly symbolised by the murder of an enemy of choice, *ʔalaʔala*. At the end of *maŋayaw*, 'they who wear the *bubtan*', *miabubtan*, who were preparing to become 'virile-warriors', had to bring back a head, linked to fertility.

The Toradja of Celebes think that the severed head feeds the ancestors, whereas for the Puyuma it brings the living fertility. This belief appears fairly widespread among head-hunting populations, in Kalimantan (Kenyah), Sarawak (Sebop of the Tinjen river) or the Philippines (Kalinga) (MacKinley

1974: 120). A 'virile-warrior' displays great bravery by beheading an outsider since as soon as he leaves the bounds of his village, his own head is at risk. In this way he proves that he is protected by his ancestors, and that his own vital energy, reinforced by a ritual just before departure, is strong enough for him to return victorious from the expedition; he displays his victory. The head, bearing the victim's vital energy, reinforces that of the 'virile-warrior', but this help cannot be obtained from an enemy whose spirit demands vengeance. It must be transformed into a friend, so that the 'virile-warrior' may take over this fertility-giving vital energy (they also used to cut off women's heads[54]). This stranger to the group, this outside element, unknown to society, is changed into a well known friend, and the only identifiable part of him is his head. He builds up his persona by obtaining the share of his *alter ego* in death, which will enable him to engender his descendants. The warrior enters into an intimate relationship with this head, feeding it and calling it his friend. It has to be incorporated into internal society, as MacKinley (1974: 120) writes: 'It is to convert an external social person into an internal social person.' The author mentions that the change, brought about by offerings, of an enemy head into a friend who is part of society is also found among the Konyak Nagas, the Land Dayak, the Iban and the Ifugao.

It is also conceivable that the murder of the enemy of choice reproduces that of the father related in the myth of the two brothers who built the first *takuban*. They had made it known to the village community that no adult was allowed inside, but their father broke this rule. The younger brother killed him, but was immediately struck down by illness. A bird-spirit told them the remedy: to perform the 'rite of the deer', which is the offering of a wild animal. Since, according to the generational principle, the son cannot find himself face-to-face with his father, he announces to him that he must change status, and brings back a head, signifying in this way that he is replacing him in the category of the 'virile', the 'procreators'.

The principle that every man must follow the course of the age-system proves that the age-system the Puyuma possessed was an authentic one.

Plate 1 *Temamataw* Shetiang and his wife (Gérard Montastier)

Plate 2 *maŋayaw* – Baŋsaran and elders back from the hunting ground (Gérard Montastier)

Plate 3 *Pualasakan* – the group of shamans (Josiane Cauquelin)

Plate 4 Shamans performing *semepaḏ* rite (Josiane Cauquelin)

Plate 5 puenai rite (Gérard Montastier)

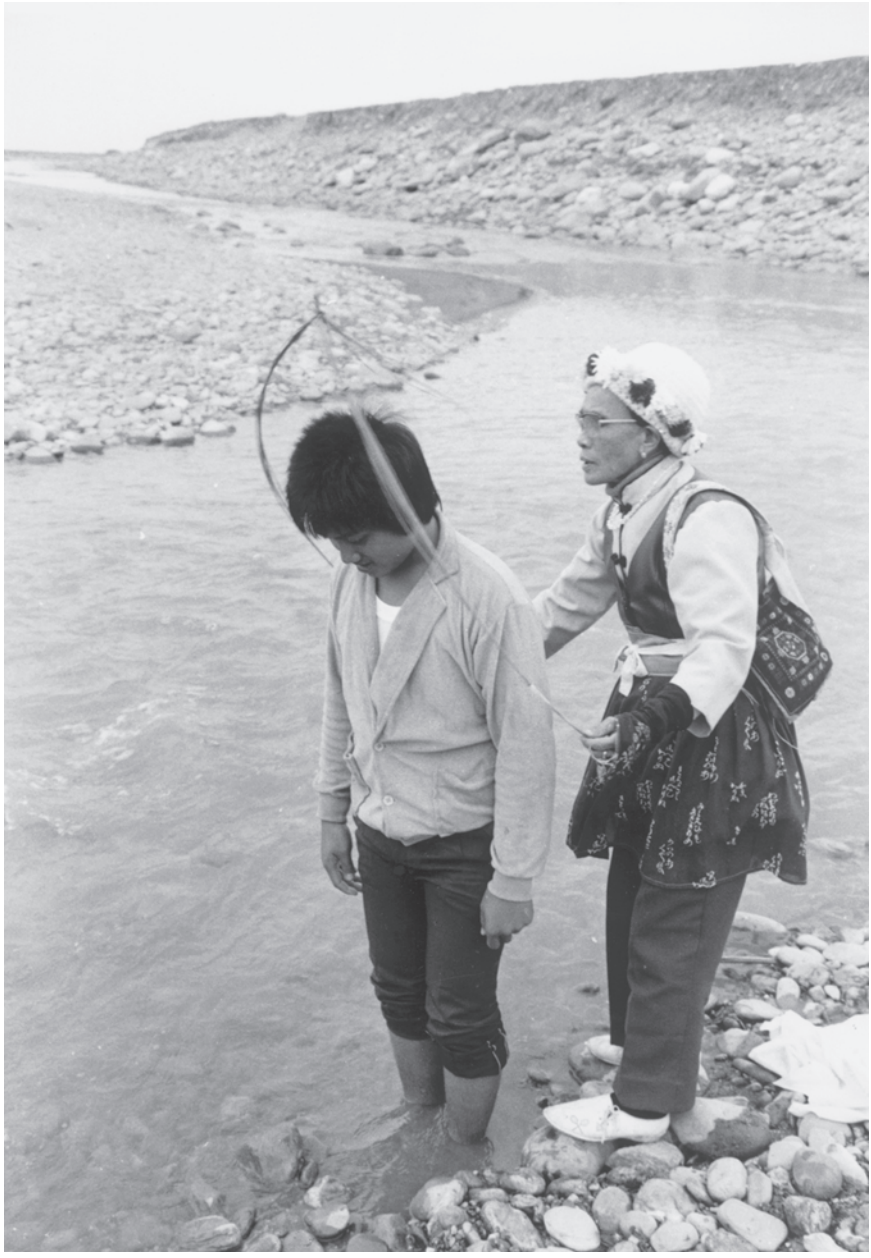


Plate 6 puenai rite (Gérard Montastier)

Plate 7 muenai rite (Josiane Cauquelin)

Plate 8 A shaman preparing the betel nuts before a ritual (Gérard Montastier)

Plate 9 The shaman Irubai exorcising snakes and birds from a new field (Josiane Cauquelin)

Plate 10 Boys of the *mardawan* age-set (Josiane Cauquelin)

7

SHAMANS

The shamans of Nanwang

There are still, on average, 12 shamans in Nanwang. Sulaw is the doyenne. She directs all the community rites. Between 1985 and 1997, six shamans, Amui, Alaw, Asarup, Labo, Muradi and Pikiok, died, and six new ones were elected (see Appendix 7). Chinese society, which is now in the majority in the village, consults shamans.

These women are very active. During a walk through the village, you can usually see one on somebody's doorstep, with her left hand stretched out towards 'the identical'. It is an exhausting job. Shamans do not necessarily die young, but as they get older they suffer from serious illnesses, often concerning their eyesight. After informing the *birua*, they decide to cease their activities. This does not mean that they are considered less competent, but their physical capacity is diminished, so they have difficulty performing rites. They have to be very ill to refuse to go to a client's house, since the *birua* who elect them do not tolerate their absence. All shamans must take part in the annual ritual, *pualasakan*, and the blind and the infirm are supported by a member of the family. Women shamans persecuted during the Japanese occupation were protected by villagers.

Buddhism was introduced by the Japanese at the end of the nineteenth century, but the Puyuma do not go to the temple built on the outskirts of the village. The few people who 'took refuge' in Buddhism suffered a series of disasters. The two religious practitioners have incorporated Buddhist religious objects into their rites: incense, the ancestral altar in the home, paper money. However, the arrival of the missionaries upset, for a while, their monopoly.

Although women are greatly in the majority, men are not totally absent. Mabuchi (1976: 101) writes: 'Among the Puyuma all shamanistic performances are monopolized by women and there are no shamans but only shamanesses. An exception to this are a few "feminized shamans" among the pre-war Puyuma, representing the northern extremity of the distribution of the bisexual shamans among the Indonesian-speaking peoples.' I am not

as affirmative, since, although it is true that the shaman community only incorporates a few men, most of whom have feminine traits and behaviour, I know two men, elected in the 1970s, Sentek and Te?oko, who were married with children. The Puyuma affirm that there was nothing to distinguish them from other men.

The age-system guided men's lives, which were completely oriented towards hunting, warfare and, in a former ritual context, head-hunting. One can only suppose that the weak, and *a fortiori* the effeminate – the term 'homosexual' does not exist – were not integrated into this system, so shamanism was a means of avoiding rejection by the group. Not only did they remain members of society, they also played an important social role.

Ulip is said to have dressed as a woman. He urinated squatting, like women, and his real sex was apparently only discovered after his death. Samguan's features were as delicate as those of a woman, and he too dressed in women's clothing. According to certain informants, he married but never had children; others say his sex was not known until his death, although he was suspected of not being normal, since when he urinated, the liquid ran straight downwards, instead of gushing forward as observed in women. Sumaladan, Hanako's brother, is a much-discussed case. The Puyuma claim he looked like a woman, but Hanako denies this. She reminds us that 'he was a Buddhist, and wore the saffron robe, which is why the Puyuma tell such stupid stories about him'. She also says that he was married and had a daughter, Ugain. But the villagers say he was not the girl's father, that she was born of the first marriage of one of his wives, and he adopted her. They also claim that 'his body looked like a knife, he was married several times, but all his wives died'. They say that 'one day, when he was coming home from Tamalakaw with Takamoli's father, the young, vigorous ox that was drawing the cart refused to cross a ford. Sumaladan beat it and the animal died.' According to the Puyuma, such a vigorous ox does not die from a few blows with a stick.

How to become a shaman

The signs

It is impossible for a woman[1] to become a shaman unless she has shaman ancestors, one of whom becomes the elector-spirit, *kiniʈalian*, the principal *birua* who will help her in her work. The elected one cannot refuse, but it is she who chooses to reveal the call of the *birua* that she invents. Her charisma is based solely on this election/heredity. The shaman has no choice, they say. She cannot avoid being chosen; some try to gain time by making offerings, but the elector-spirit never gives up. Her situation is irreversible, she is no more free to abandon the call than she was to choose it. This lack of freedom is ideological. For example, Kibio, a *Mabalio*, showed a predisposition, and

the shamans revealed her election. But her husband refused to let her enter the profession, and even threatened her with divorce. After several purifications, the electing ancestor let her go. Transmission is on the father's or the mother's side, sometimes omitting a generation, but sometimes occurring in two siblings, as in the case of Hanako and her elder brother, Sumaladam.

The candidate undergoes an uncommon experience: visions, dreams, profound and painful internal disorders, accidents, fertility problems (death of *in utero* or very young children). Irubai had a different experience: a crushing sensation in the thorax and the shoulders (I will study this symptom below). Appendix 7, showing the age of investiture, does not give an average age, but two different periods, either around the age of 30 or between 40 and 50.

Successful cases

A few case studies will help us to understand the factors involved in the success or failure of shamans.

Sulaw, the doyenne, felt stomach pains like 'a stick poking up into her heart'. The diagnosis made by the shaman she consulted was clear: her ancestor Samguan was looking for her. She resisted, but she lost five of her ten children in infancy, and no longer slept with her husband; her father and her husband urged her to accept her investiture. Sulaw is the only one not to give precise details of her filiation with her ancestor, Samguan.

Alaw suffered from violent headaches for three years. Her husband was opposed to her becoming a shaman. She had only one child, a daughter, whom she had to give to her sister on account of maternal incompatibility. Her electing ancestor is her maternal grandmother, Sa'ibik.

Labo's nickname was *paresi* (bed-wetter). She was thin, and suffered from headaches and pains in her left shoulder. Her husband opposed her investiture for seven years. But after two miscarriages, he gave in. After her investiture, she gave birth to five children, all of whom survived, and she became fat. Her electing ancestor is her maternal grandmother, Dederan.

Sunai also suffered from headaches. Although her father, a bamboo diviner, was in favour, her husband refused her investiture. However, after the birth of their fourth child, Sunai accepted her new role. Her electing ancestor is her maternal great-grandmother, Katisan.

Amui suffered from pains all over her body, especially violent headaches. She stopped eating, and cried all the time. She refused her investiture for ten years, but was cured as soon as she had accepted her new role. Her electing ancestor is her maternal grandfather's sister, Siruku.

Muradi is crazy, and cannot be questioned.

Asarup is a special case. She is from the neighbouring village, Rikabung. She says that from the age of three onwards, she 'went into the *aulas*', and often fainted. Her teachers were afraid of her, she says. At the age of eight,

she began her training with the mistress Aripsaw, but her investiture ceremony did not take place until she was 16. The other shamans do not pay much attention to her story. Her electing ancestor is her maternal grandmother, Maigan.

Siawan is the second case of a shaman whose electing ancestor manifested herself in childhood. She suffered from headaches and pains in her eyes. At the birth of her sixth child, the bamboo diviner from the *Pasaraʾaḍ* household advised her to accept election by her ancestor. She and her husband were delighted, and she recovered. Siawan is a very cheerful woman. Her electing ancestor is her maternal grandmother, Tibitin.

Hanako was very thin, and had no energy. She had two children during the first years of her marriage, which took place at the age of 15. However, she became ill, her husband took a mistress and for several years she had no more children. She accepted her investiture, and one evening on her way home from the fields she went on a voyage to 'the *aulas*' and became pregnant again. Her electing ancestor is her maternal great-grandmother, a *Pasaraʾaḍ*. Hanako often speaks of the strength of her mother's auxiliary-spirits (her mother was also a shaman). When she went 'in the *aulas*', she found lost objects; for example, Usiang, Moiko's father, had lost his wallet on the mountain, and she found it after a recalling ritual. She could also *aḷakaw ḍa kim*, 'catch silver or gold'.

Atung was 20 when her *birua* came for her. There were six of them, all identical, wearing hats. She rose into the sky with the moon, and flew as far as Tokyo, skimming over the sea just over the tops of the waves. The six *birua* kept asking her the same question, 'don't you want to?', then they buried her, but she did not fear death. One day, she found herself in front of three doors. On the right and the left were people who had died an unfortunate death, but in the middle there was a beautiful golden door and a path paved with gold where her ancestors were waiting: 'we don't want you; go back where you came from.' She was thin. She suffered from headaches for 20 years, and her husband, a bamboo diviner, encouraged her to accept her fate. She underwent investiture at the age of 42, and recovered; she stopped flying in the air and over the waves. Atung had no children, and adopted a little Taiwanese girl who was incompatible with her mother. Her electing ancestor is her maternal grandmother's sister, Siawan.

Adil 'heard noises in her head'. For a year she refused to become a shaman, but fell seriously ill. Her husband was already dead. Her head 'cleared'. Her electing ancestor is her father's younger sister, Nawinaw.

Irubai's father was ill and his life was in danger; he often consulted a shaman from the Puyuma village of Kasabakan, which has an altar dedicated to the Chinese spirit *nanbei dou xing*.[2] He recovered, but Irubai immediately fell ill. In her turn, she consulted this shaman[3] from Kasabakan who had saved her father's life. The shaman told her that her ancestor, Alisu, had already 'smelt' her in her mother's womb. Irubai resisted; she felt she was

too young, since she was only just 26. Her electing ancestor is her maternal grandmother's elder sister, Alisu.

Pikiok became partly paralysed at the age of 29, and her father-in-law, a bamboo diviner, told her that her electing ancestor had come for her, but Pikiok refused since she was a civil servant. In June 1982, she bought a small lorry, and went off for a ride with five friends. On a good road, without any bends, the driver lost control of the lorry. After this accident, she went to consult a shaman who told her the same thing as her father-in-law. The shaman strongly advised her to accept investiture, since the third accident would be fatal to her. Pikiok accepted and her investiture ceremony took place on 31 January 1983. Pikiok died in 1995.

Their functions regulate their lives. The chosen one is, in a way, proud of her election, since the elector-spirit does not make a mistake. The shamans are very happy today to show off their curves, and enumerate their children. They always punctuate their stories with 'I would be dead if I had not accepted'. All their ills ceased with the investiture ceremony; taking up their functions focuses their disorders, but does not eliminate them. The discomfort and indispositions they suffer from today are due, according to them, to supernatural manifestations, and bear witness to the strengthened intimacy between shamans and their auxiliary spirits. Their activities give them a regular outlet for their problems. On the other hand, they rarely speak of failure. But . . .

Failures

Certain women do not experience joy or peace after their investiture. According to the shamans, they have broken the rules, although their investiture was never questioned. Here are a few cases.

Sunai, from the *Kalituŋai* household, only practised for two years. She did not take part in the ceremony of the 'bag's first outing', *beniar*[4] during the annual *pualaskan* festival. She became dumb, the spirits took away her means of communicating with them, speech. She left her function of shaman and 'took refuge' in Buddhism. Her electing ancestor did not accept this and Sunai died.

Teʔoko was a man. He threw away his bag, destroyed his sanctuary and became a Catholic. He died.

Sentek, another man, quietly went to make offerings to an Amis divinity. He practised for only two months.

Wagal was ill. She consulted the Chinese medium, who discovered evil spells inside the house. He protected the house by setting up barriers, thus preventing her *birua* from visiting her. Wagal fell ill, and took medicine without consulting a shaman; one day 'her bones broke'.

Agwi from the village of Rikabung had been practising for only five years when, in 1984, she refused to take part in the annual *pualasakan* ceremony.

The doyennne tried in vain to stop her giving up her profession. Agwi resisted, and asked the doyenne to perform a ritual to separate her from her elector-spirit so that she could destroy her sanctuary. The doyenne refused to do this. Agwi abandoned her sanctuary, and slept in the family home. Her grandson fell ill and Agwi died.

Irubai is an interesting case. She never admits to being ill, just not very well. An informant explains: 'Irubai thinks she is cured, but in fact she is still ill.' However, today, her symptoms are presented as privileged moments when she is in contact with her auxiliary spirits and they live in perfect intimacy. Her overflowing activity is a way of unburdening herself of her own problems. The other shamans say that Irubai's spirits are 'strong'. Irubai attempted suicide twice at the beginning of the 1990s.

Family surroundings

Family surroundings play an important role. I know of no cases of indifference, but either strong opposition to the shaman's election, seen as a disaster, or unreserved support, seen as a gift from the *birua*.

Irubai's mother put pressure on her daughter, receiving the *birua*'s vision herself in her daughter's place, especially since the younger sister of Apapolo's uncle's mother wished to become a shaman. She had even stolen Alisu's rattle and jewellery, but Alisu wanted Irubai to ensure the succession. In general, blood relations do not oppose the 'call'; it is an ancestor who is looking for a successor. Husbands, on the other hand, left alone for days on end, are against it. Apart from Siawan's and Atung's husbands, who welcomed the decision with satisfaction, all the others resisted. A shaman called for by a patient cannot refuse without risking a clash with her *birua*. If one day goes by without an intervention the shaman must blow into her bag so that 'her *birua* can smell her'. The survey I have done reveals that certain households contain a large number of shamans, bamboo diviners and *benabulu*.

Investiture, ma⌊agan[5]

For a better understanding of this ritual, we will follow Irubai's investiture ceremony. Remember, her father was very ill and his life was saved only by consulting a shaman from the Puyuma village of Kasabakan. As soon as her father was cured, Irubai fell ill. Since medicine was no help, she went back to see the shaman from Kasabakan, who confirmed that her elector-spirit, Alisu, had already 'smelt' her in her mother's womb, and wanted her to 'become her daughter'.

Irubai resisted, since she was only 26, and felt she was too young. By means of offerings, she gained a year. But the illness returned, a shooting, implacable pain. She consulted doctors, but to no avail. The shaman from

Kasabakan repeated that she could not escape the electing ancestor who wanted Irubai to 'replace her'. She consulted Sumia's bamboos, which did not confirm the Kasabakan shaman's diagnosis. Yet Irubai was wasting away. One evening, Irubai's mother, while watching TV, clearly saw the *birua* holding two branches of loosestrife on the ancestral altar. When she was told of this vision, Irubai, who was sewing, felt a weight on her shoulders, and a stifling feeling in her chest. She consulted a doctor and was given injections, but her arm swelled for 60 hours. She went back to consult Sumia, the bamboo diviner, who claimed that no spirit was looking for her. The illness was exhausting her. She decided to consult another bamboo diviner, Usiang, who, like the Kasabakan shaman, confirmed the presence of a *birua*. Irubai went back to the shaman in Kasabakan, who said that the ancestor was in a hurry, and the investiture date was immediately fixed.

She informed the shaman Luai, a *Mabalio* (from the same household as her husband's mother) of her decision. Luai was displeased because she wanted to become the novice's mistress of ceremonies, *pase?uḍ*, but she could not play this role because her own mistress, Alaw, was still alive. Usiang, whose wife is Alaw's sister, consulted his bamboos, which designated Alaw as mistress of ceremonies. But the doyenne, *Abukul*, was jealous, and indicated that the choice of mistress of ceremonies was free. She also intimated that she would like to play this role, but Irubai, out of fear of the *birua*, respected the bamboos' choice.

On the first evening of the investiture ceremony, five shamans came to her house, and for an hour intoned shaman songs. The doyenne was not invited by her companions. Irubai did not know how to sing since she had not yet been instated. During the singing, she stayed sitting on a bench, with her legs stretched out horizontally, weeping. There was a stifling sensation in her chest, and 'the *birua* came for her'.

On the morning of the second day, the bamboo diviner found the site for her sanctuary, *lawinan*. He stuck a bamboo in the centre of the small square designated. The next night, Irubai's dreams were auspicious, so the site was adopted.

On the morning of the third day, the shaman Luai came to purify the site. Meanwhile, the men of the household – brother, husband and father – went to the mountain to cut the necessary materials for building the sanctuary, which they erected in one day.

On the morning of the fourth day, Luai returned to cleanse the new building. The *benabulu* Gulum, the father of Irubai's husband, came to place the sanctuary's protective spirit, *pametek.* But the doyenne opposed the father-in-law's intervention, since a man cannot perform a rite in a shaman's sanctuary.

They had to wait for the fifth day, when the doyenne, personally, placed the 'protector of the house', represented by an areca nut, on one of the beams of the sanctuary. The same evening, all the shamans sang in the

Figure 7.1 Shaman's bag, *aliut*

family home. Irubai took up the same sitting position with stiff outstretched legs. The evening ended with dancing. Irubai made rice cakes and gave them to Alaw, the mistress of ceremonies.

On the sixth day, the investiture ceremony proper, *maɬagan*, took place. In the newly built sanctuary, the shamans set to work. First, they informed the *birua* of their activity. The doyenne took charge of the most sacred task, that of preparing the rattle. She threaded beads, *nirawi*[6] on to a ramie thread passed through the handle of a musical instrument.[7]

She also made the bag. The youngest prepared the loosestrife branches which they stuck behind their left ears. Alas! When Irubai got up from her seat, she saw a mouldy areca nut,[8] took fright and asked who it belonged to; she received no reply, but Alaw blushed, according to Irubai. When the bag was finished, Alaw, the mistress of ceremonies, put it over the novice's left shoulder. This is the most important moment of the ceremony, 'the consecration', since the bag 'makes' the shaman. Irubai became a shaman. Then they left, running, in single file, in order of age, with the family at the end of the line, to fetch the two bamboo branches that the elder brother had cut on the mountain and left at the entrance to the village. They tied belts of rattles round their waists. Alaw cut the two stems to a length of about 50 centimetres. One was left with its leaves on, and the other cut so as to retain three alternate internodes without any leaves, *lawinan*.[9] The two stems were stuck into the ground in the sanctuary. Then flaming pine branches were placed under the shelf, since *birua* like smells.

All the shamans took part in making Irubai's substitute body, *tinuɬaɬaw*. They accompanied their actions with singing. Once the substitute body was

finished, it was carefully wrapped in a banana leaf, and the mistress of ceremonies, with her rattle, recalled the *tinabawan* of the novice that 'the *birua* had come for' on the first evening of the ceremony. She placed the banana leaf on Irubai's head, the location of a *tinabawan* or part of one, and transferred it from the rattle to Irubai's body. Irubai's substitute body was given to the *birua* in exchange for her own body, and placed in a box that will not be destroyed until Irubai's death.

The ceremony ended with thanks through wine, *penetik*[10] and *kemadada? us*.[11] The shamans had dinner together, and exchanged their food, *marimaw*.[12] According to its etymology, this is more of a presentation to *birua*, similar to that accompanying a birth, when the same *marimaw* rite is performed by feeding the *birua* on the threshold of the house.

Here is the final song of the investiture ceremony (sung by the doyenne and taken up in chorus by all the shamans):

ta kianunai, ta kiadekai	We have recited the words of the 'offering-nuts'
ḍa mi?alup, ḍa miakelup	To 'the masters of the hunt',
ḍa mibabuyul, ḍa mibabuŋai	To 'the masters of the ground'.
ta kianunai, ta kiadekai	We have recited the words of the 'offering-nuts'
miadatar, miadekal	To 'those who "have" the village',
misaɭikiḍ, mibananisin	To 'the masters of the village gates'.
ta kianunai, ta kiadekai	We have recited the words of the 'offering-nuts'
kiniʈalian, kinituluŋan	To the electing ancestors.
ta kianunai, ta kiadekai	We have recited the words of the 'offering-nuts'
murabarabak, ʈemaʈa?ep	To deceased shamans.
ta kianunai, ta kiadekai	We have recited the words of the 'offering-nuts'
kadi inusaŋaan, inudawayan	For those who 'are made' here,
kiniʈalian, kinituluŋan	To the electing ancestors.

This ceremony is interesting on several levels, first because it shows up quarrels between shamans, conflicts for power and agreements between households. It also shows that the Puyuma distinguish between several categories of mistresses, and, finally, it helps us to understand the key moments.

Regarding the first point, we may note that the doyenne was very hurt not to have been chosen as mistress of ceremonies, but she managed to become the novice's instructress, *maladḍam*. Four years later, in 1984, the doyenne still bore a grudge and insisted on the performance of certain purification rites which she said were demanded by the *birua*. They remembered, according

to this shaman, that: first, on the first evening five shamans sang without her; second, the rice cakes made by Irubai were all given to Alaw, and not a single one to her; third, it was Alaw who cut the two bamboo stems, *limiḍus* and *lawinan*, although this job should have been done by the eldest; fourth, the discovery by Irubai of an evil spell on her seat was discovered by Irubai. All these resentments show that the doyenne claimed 'priority' over the novice from the *Pasaraʾaḍ* household: both women, the doyenne and the novice, were from this household. Pikiok's investiture ceremony, which took place three years later, was presided over by Sunai, who is from the same household as Pikiok. The doyenne took no interest in it. Under cover of superficial good relations, intra-professional rivalries come to light, and in the same way, solidarity between members of the same household. As for agreements between households, Usiang designated his sister-in-law Alaw as mistress of ceremonies. Similarly, Luai called on her brother-in-law Gulum to perform the rite of protection of the novice's sanctuary.

Concerning the second point, it can be seen that the Puyuma distinguish between several categories of mistresses. The first is the mistress who diagnoses illnesses and determines the nature of the elector-spirit. In Irubai's case, she is the shaman from Kasabakan, and the young shaman always goes to this sanctuary to make offerings to the *birua* who helped with the diagnosis. The second category is the mistress of ceremonies, *paseʾuḍ*, in this case Alaw, who places the bag on the shaman's left shoulder. The third type of mistress is the instructress, *maladḍam*, in this case the doyenne. Although there is no training, a novice follows another shaman for a while.

As far as the third point is concerned, there are three important moments in the ceremony. The first is the building of the sanctuary, *lawinan*, by the family and affines, and the making of cultural objects by specialists in the profession. The second is the reintegration of the novice's *tinabawan*, which the ancestor-spirit 'came for' on the first evening. This means that her *tinabawan* was gone, that she was, in a sense, dead. It is only reunited with the top of the skull after investiture. The *birua* only gives it back in exchange for the shaman's substitute body. This return of the strengthened *tinabawan* is seen as a resurrection. The final moment is the placing of the two bamboo stems in the shaman's room. The stems must be cut by a brother, or a blood-relation, after being carefully selected from small bamboos, *buḷu*. As soon as the bamboos are fixed in the room, the women burn resinous pine branches and place them next to the bamboos.

Training

There is no formal training, even though children go to rituals, like Irubai who followed her great-aunt. The new recruit receives no instruction. Training is of a practical kind: the shaman assists her 'instructress' and imitates her.

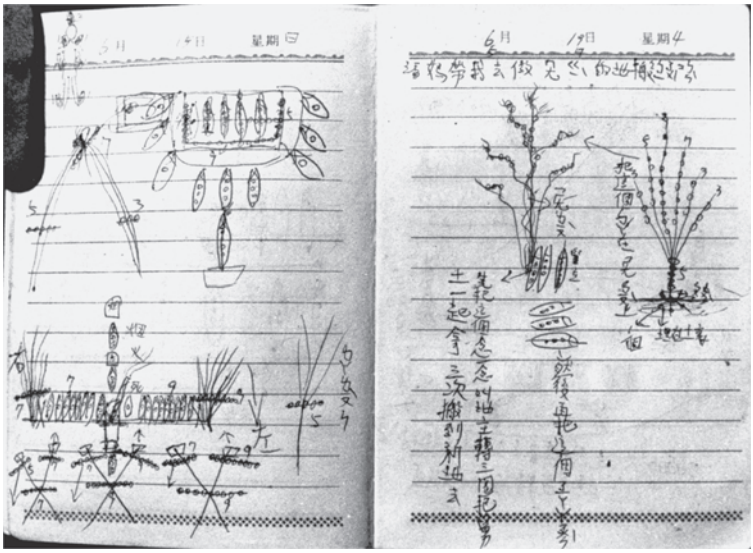


Figure 7.2 Irubai's notebook

But she denies this, since invocations 'fall into her head when she is asleep'. The mistress of ceremonies sleeps in the novice's bed for a month after the investiture ceremony. This woman has, for many years, been 'surrounded', *rabak*, by shaman ancestors, and shows them the way to the new sanctuary. Prayers 'fall' naturally into the novice's head, and she recites them without ever having learnt them. She must be 'gifted', and able to memorise and improvise. Conversely, Pikiok, absorbed by her work as a civil servant, never memorised the invocations.

Learning how to perform rites, knowing the numbers of areca nuts and their arrangement, naturally makes it necessary to follow a shaman, to take notes, to make sketches of the arrangements of nuts. By chance, I found Irubai's little notebook (see Figure 7.2), containing all the ceremonies and prayers written in Chinese phonetics.[13] I also caught Irubai unawares, while she was going about her household duties, listening to the doyenne's 'voyage to the *aulas*' on her Walkman. After spending several months with the shamans, I was able to recite the invocations and prepare a rite, which worried my companions. Luckily, I had no electing ancestor, so I will never know the texts. But I was severely sanctioned, because, for a while, I was not allowed to record or take photos, since I was stealing their *birua*, and, worse still, 'I would take them away to my home, in a foreign country.'

Accessories

The elector-spirit and the auxiliary spirits

The electing ancestor takes a liking to a descendant whom he 'loves', but is not linked to a particular shaman, since there is no genealogical depth. In 1997, I encountered the case of Namiko, who had become blind, and whose electing ancestor was her ancestor Samguan, also the electing ancestor of the doyenne, who is still alive. Namiko's maternal grandmother, Mi?in, was adopted and raised by Samguan and his brother Pinadai, but the doyenne has never been able to trace her ancestry, although 'we are related', as she says. All my attempts to relate the doyenne to her electing ancestor have been fruitless, but as choice is limited by the rules of filiation, this is an incontestable fact for the villagers.

Auxiliary spirits, unlike the electing ancestor, are numerous. They are part of an open-ended category, and all *birua* may potentially and occasionally play this role. I heard Irubai, during her 'visit to the *aulas*' in 1993, ask the 'masters of the village gates' for help. We remind the reader of the Elders' decision, at *maŋayaw* in 1989, to forbid shamans from taking part in the ritual of protection of the village gates. The doyenne had opposed the decision, and fallen ill. Since then, every year, the doyenne tries to persuade the Elders to allow the shamans to be present, and the most convincing argument is the words of the 'masters of the village gates' themselves.

Hanako describes the entry to the *ka?aulasan*, with its great door guarded by two policemen, immediately followed by four doors one behind the other. Up there, everything is beautiful, with long rivers flowing between pretty houses surrounded by big trees and flowers. She can only reach it during the 'visit to the *aulas*' which takes place in the evening after she has washed, when the ancestors have eaten, washed and are otherwise ready to receive her. 'They are human beings, like us, so we have to wait until the evening when they are free', says Hanako.

Hanako is an exception – she has two electing ancestors. One is from the village of Rikabung, located to the west of Puyuma, so he lives in the west and it is different there: there are roads winding between beautiful houses surrounded by high stony mountains bare of flora and fauna. She has to go there because one of her electing ancestors lives there, but she cannot go to other territories where she has no ancestors.

Atung also describes the *ka?aulasan*. To go there she crosses a wide suspension bridge, *kayakai*. The bridge is stable, so she is not afraid. The landscape is wild and mountainous, the houses are as small as their sanctuary, *lawinan*. She has met her electing ancestor, *kiniʈalian*, there, and she wears a long dress down to her feet and carries a bag, *aliut*. Her hair is tied back in a chignon behind her head.

Adil often meets her electing ancestor. She has a body, and beautiful eyes but no face. The auxiliary spirits file past the shamans when they pronounce their names while giving 'information', *pakaladam.*

The sanctuary, lawinan*, and the bag,* aliut

The sanctuary is built by the men from the newly elected shaman's household, father, brothers and husband, the latter of whom moves into the new building. The bag and all the other accessories are made by the other shamans, so two social categories are concerned: household and colleagues.

The sanctuary, *lawinan*, is a holy place, not in the sense that it is forbidden – I helped Irubai's children with their homework – but because it is the place where the shaman lives in perfect harmony with her electing ancestor and all her auxiliary spirits, and it is where she keeps her cult objects. The walls are covered with drawings, photos and knick-knacks, and her clothes are piled up in a wardrobe or chest of drawers.

On the right as one goes in, on the 'uphill' wall, at a height of about one and a half metres, there is the shelf, *ayaran* or *purikan*, where the *birua* are

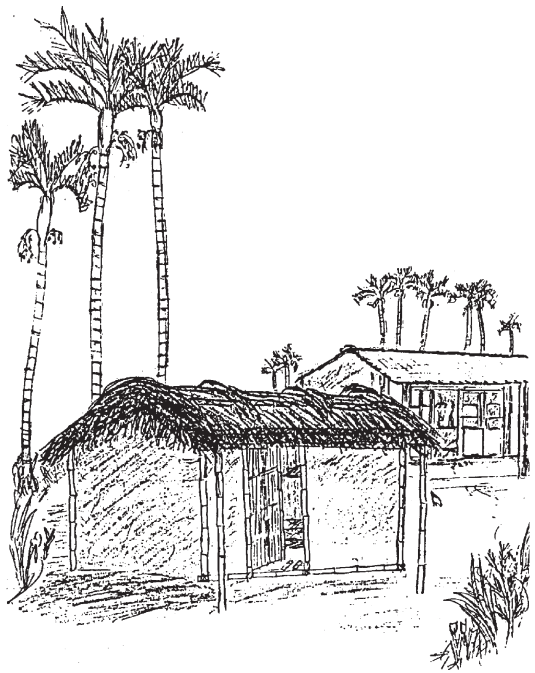


Figure 7.3 A shaman's sanctuary, *lawinan*

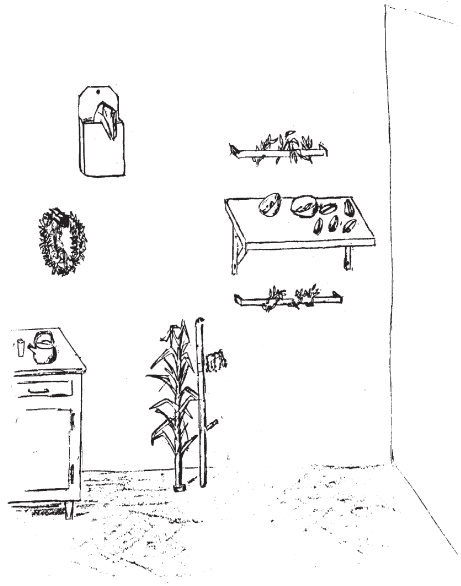


Figure 7.4 Uphill side of the sanctuary

kept. The shaman feeds them, by putting offerings in coconut shells, and it is strictly forbidden for anyone except the shaman to touch them. Just next to this shelf, on the right, is the window that allows the *birua* to come and go. At the foot of the shelf, and just to the left of it, are the two bamboos, *limuḍus* and *lawinan*, on which she hangs necklaces of fired clay beads, *inasi*. Above the two bamboos, and slightly to the left, is the wooden box containing the shaman's substitute body, *tinuṭaṭaw, inusugayan* or *inudawayan*.[14] On another shelf is a large box containing all the bags. All the crowns of flowers are kept there, scenting the room with dried loosestrife.

The bag, *niyubayup* or *pinayapai*,[15] is commonly known as *aliut*. The bag 'makes' the shaman. The *benabulu* say: 'We are like shamans but our bag is made of skin.' There is indeed a great difference. The rattle is kept in the bag and enables communication with the *birua* in the *kaʔaulasan* to take place. This Pierrot-headed object is only taken out of the bag for important ceremonies such as the 'voyage to the *aulas*', or the recall of a *tinabawan*. It cannot be bought in a shop, but belonged to the electing ancestor and is acquired for a considerable sum from his descendants. Among the accessories, there is rope braided from banyan root, and a little calabash bottle containing lime for blinding restless *birua*. Making a new bag takes the whole night of the fifth day of the annual festival. It is a square pouch made of blue cotton, whose sides are 20 cm long, closed with a flap, with two red strips along the two side seams and two yellow ribbons dangling from the

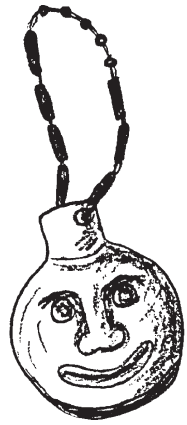


Figure 7.5 The rattle, *siŋsiŋan*

white shoulder strap. Traditionally, the bag was sewn by hand. The young novice becomes a shaman at the precise moment when the mistress places the bag on her left shoulder during the investiture ceremony. The previous year's bag joins all the others in the box placed on the shelf, and they will all be buried with the shaman. In this way, the shaman's number of years in practice can be calculated. The doyenne had 51 bags in 1993.

Shaman's costume

When she leaves her house to perform a rite at a patient's home, the shaman ties the strings of her little apron, *sugun*[16] behind her back, and places a crown of flowers on her head, nothing more. Hamayon (1977: 180) writes: 'the spirits are able to smell'. The electing ancestor likes flowers and their scent, and dead ancestors do not like unpleasant smells. When the bag is made, several stems of loosestrife are sewn into the ribbon to drive away the invasive, inevitable smell of mould during wet weather. It is also to please the *birua* that a shaman keeps all the dried crowns of flowers that scent her sanctuary.

Ritual language

The language itself

For the shaman, it is a complicated process. The 'spirits' language' will be breathed into her during her sleep by the *birua*, during the month following the investiture ceremony. But whether this language is simply memorised by listening or 'revealed' by *birua*, the *benabulu* and the shaman are judged

by the efficacy of their words. This makes it easier to understand ordinary people who deem this language, reserved for the two ritual specialists, incomprehensible.

In a society without writing, memory is indispensable for the transmission of acquired knowledge. The faculty for memorisation of the villagers is truly amazing. Oral knowledge has the value of an initiation via the power of words, and a newly elected shaman is not often called upon because she 'does not know the invocations, and is not "surrounded" by her *birua*'. Form and rhythm help memorisation, and invocations consist of short, rhythmic sentences where the melodic quality of the tone punctuated by assonance and alliteration plays an important role. All these formulae, repeated daily, lead to a certain automatism. All prayers express apologies to *birua* for possible wrong procedures, wrong words and omissions. It is of course obvious that several years of attentive listening to elders are needed for the beginner to acquire a flow of well controlled words, and for these words to become active.

Invocations contain 'information', *pakalaḍam*, and addresses to spirits, but do not tell mythological stories; the key character is the interpreter. The shaman emerges as the creator of the ritual, and any new problem generates a hitherto unknown ritual, which ensures an infinite extension of lexical material. In reality, the organisation of ritual sequences is always the same, only the body of the invocation characterises the ritual: call to the spirits during which the shaman 'informs' them of the ritual she is about to perform, diagnosis and cure or thanks, dismissal of the spirits. But in similar conditions, she conducts the session differently; for example, more briefly and with less alacrity if she knows she will only get a small fee from the patient. In any case, the Puyuma take no interest in the gestures, words and touch of the shaman, which they say are enigmatic. Transmission is sacred and its acquisition makes the shamans practically 'identical' with the *birua*. An ordinary individual never attempts to communicate with them, any more than a shaman would do outside a ritual context.[17] For patients, the ritual is essential to the restoration of biological or sociological order.

Let us first study the oral language, by analysing an extract from a long piece of 'information' recited for the use of a sewing machine during the great annual shamans' festival, *pualasakan*. Translation of the text takes place on the spot with a shaman or a *benabulu*.[18] First of all, I will find the base and affixes of the term to reveal lexical deviation or phonetic deformation. Archaisms are a real problem, and it is initially necessary to find a possible alteration of a common lexical unit to make sure that it is not – as the informant claims – an archaism, and then it is necessary to consult the lexicons of other Austronesian languages.

The present extract was recited[19] by the doyenne on the evening of 24 March 1993, before installing the sewing machine. This 'information', *pakalaḍam*, emphasises the distinctive attribute, the bag. It is repeated four

times, with minor changes. The first part, translated below, is addressed to the 'masters of the hunt', those 'who make the village' and the 'masters of the village gates'; the second to Samguan, the so-called first shaman, and the ancestors; the third to deceased shamans; and the fourth to the *birua* of the house.

> 1. *pakalaḍam ku, paseltu ku,* 2. *kana miʾalup, kana miakalup,* 3. *mibabuyul, mibabuŋai,* 4. *temuadatar, temuadekal,* 5. *mibaḷisin, misaḷikiḍ*, 6. *arua benan mi la,* 7. *ḍa amian, ḍa buṭeḷan,* 8. *aw kurʾtemer, kurʾdikes mi la,* 9. *ḍa pinayapai, ḍa niyubayub,* 10. *tu pakabanan,* 11. *aw tu ṭaṭaʾi kana misi kana kikai,* 12. *adi kasenkin, adi kagerarger,* 13. *i mu a miakalup, i mu a miaḷanis,* 14. *mibabuyul, mibabuŋai,* 15. *a temuamuan,* 16. *a temuadatar, temuadekal,* 17. *mibaḷisin, misaḷikiḍ,* 18. *kemaya ta,* 19. *kianun, kiadek,* 20. *kurʾtemer, kurʾdikes,* 21. *kemakurut kandia,* 22. *kana pinayapai, kana niyubayub,* 23. *pakabanan, pakabekaḷ* 24. *adi paḍumayan, adi paṭepelan,* 25. *adi pakaʾaliuliu i, adi pakaʾpawpaw i,* 26. *a maladam, a malagiwan,* 27. *kema ta i,* 28. *mubalibaḷis la na kakuayanan,* 29. *adi ta la temalumaṭa, temaluseʾer,* 30. *pinabalayan ḍa tilil,* 31. *tu ṭaṭaʾyan kandi kana maipinayapai,* 32. *adi kagerarger, adi kasenkin,* 33. *adi kasaseba, adi kaḷaḷemu,* 34. *panutukan, pateḍelan,* 35. *a malagiwan, a maladam,* 36. *kan kemakurut, kan merarua,* 37. *kandi kana pinayapai, kandi kana niyubayub,* 38. *panutukan, pateḍelan,* 39. *aw mugaruta ta la, aw daʾusa ta la,* 40. *ḍa piaulas, ḍa piadial*

Information to the *birua* about the use of the sewing machine:

> 1–7: I inform, the 'masters of the hunt', the 'masters of the ground', 'those who make the village', 'masters of the village gates', that we have successfully 'untangled' the year, the internode. 8–10: So, we are going to take the bags together to make new ones. 11: And their seams will be sewn with the sewing machine. 12: Do not wake up suddenly, do not be afraid. 13–17: You, 'masters of the hunt', you, 'masters of the mountain', 'masters of the ground', ancestors, 'those who make the village', 'masters of the village gates'. 18–19: Hear our words of appeasement. 20–23: Together we are going to take, calculate (the measurements of these bags) and make new ones. 24–26: The shamans, 'they who know', must not make a mistake, nor forget, nor get lost. 27–28: We tell you that traditions have changed. 29–31: Do not prevent yourselves from having a good look at the motifs on these bags, and sewing the seams well. 32–33: Do not wake up suddenly, do not get angry. 34–38: The shamans, 'they who know', will take the measurements accurately, and will make the bags. These bags will be well made. 39–40: So let us comb and oil the *aulas*.

It may be neccessary to remember that the Puyuma language belongs to the occidental branch of the Austronesain family. It is therefore of the agglutinating type and allows insertion of all types of affixes – affixation is theoretically limitless in Puyuma. Further, each noun or noun phrase must always be linked to the verb or any other words or phrases in the sentence by the appropriate construction marker, *i* and *kan* for a person, respectively subject and object. In the plural form, we get *na* and *kana. a* and *ḍa* are for indefinite objects and, respectively, subjects and objects; for definite objects, *na* and *kana* are used. This permanent construction of the lexicon and its syntax enables a so-called 'esoteric' language to be invented.

The stylistic analysis of the language shows clearly that each invocation proceeds from five different types: systematic doubling, borrowed words, archaisms, assonances and metaphors.

SYSTEMATIC DOUBLING USING SYNONYMS

Each line presents an example

> 1. *pakalaḍam ku/paseltu ku.* 2. *kana miʔalup/kana miakalup.* 3. *mibabuyul/mibabuŋai.* 4. *temuadatar/temuadekal* etc.

This systematic use of synonyms or pseudo-synonyms enables the expression of a single thought to be varied, and flourishes the style. The meaning of the second term, if it is known, is slightly stretched to play the role of a synonym, but never leads to new information. For example, in line 24, we have *paḍuma-yan*, to change, not to concentrate, and *paṭepel-an*, to do something thinking one is doing another (e.g. killing a dog thinking one is killing a boar). The suffix /*-an*/ indicates location in time or space. In line 34, we have *panutak-an*, straight (a road or a spirit), and *pateḍel-an*, right, correct. Line 29 has *t-em-alu-maʈa/t-em-aluseʔer*: the two terms are formed from the inflected base in the actor focus *taʃa*, to bar, but the first incorporates the substantive *maʈa*, eyes, and the second the base *seʔer*, to look with a frown. The shamans translate both by 'seeing wrongly'. In line 8, the term *kurʔtemer* consists of the prefix /*kur-*/ and the base *temer*, hold in the hand. The parallel term *kurʔdikes* presents the same form but in everyday vocabulary it gives a little extra information: the object held in the hand is caressed. For shamans the translation is the same: to hold in the hand.

This plethora of lexical units comes from different sources that are sometimes difficult to find.

BORROWINGS FROM NEIGHBOURING LANGUAGES

Some are obvious and necessary to express a modern concept such as 'sewing machine'. For example, in line 11 there is *misi/kikai* < Japanese; as expected,

we find the *kana* construction marker. Another example is *kana biki, kana puran*, where *puran* is a Puyuma term and *biki* is borrowed from the Amis neighbours.

ARCHAISMS

Examples are, in line 4, *datar*/*dekal*, or in line 35, *malagiwan*/*malaḍam*. In general, the first terms are supposed to be ancient by the speakers themselves, and the second are in daily use by the Puyuma. The substantive *datar* seems to belong to an older linguistic substratum; it is found in the Malay language, *datar*, flat ground. As for *malagiwan*, this word seems to consist of *ma-*/, marker of the actor focus, and *ḷagan*, to erect. The investiture ceremony is known as *maḷagan*. For the sake of facility, villagers tend to say that a word is an archaism, though it is often the deformation of a common word. For example, in line 25, there is *aliuliu*, a word the shamans translate as 'to forget'. It is in fact a common word, *aliu*, 'to take (something) in passing', which gives a negative form, not to take (something) in passing, i.e. to forget. For this term, my informant, who is a *benabulu*, had transcribed and translated *aniuniu*, to forget. Irubai corrected this and transcribed *aliuliu*, keeping the same meaning of forgetting.

Another example can help us to understand better this tendency towards an esoteric transformation, which becomes an archaism for the villagers. According to the shamans, line 29, *temalumaṭa*, cited above, means seeing wrongly. As I have mentioned, it consists of the inflected base *taḷa*, to bar, to stop, and the substantive *maṭa*, eyes. This base *taḷa* becomes *talu*, thus participating in the creation of an esoteric sacred language. During the translation, I noticed that the transformation of the term did not worry my informants because, as they say, 'that's how we recite it'. The same alteration occurred with the base *seʔer*, to look with a frown. Both terms are used as synonyms.

ASSONANCES

Assonances that facilitate memorisation are combined with a trend to consonantal or vocalic alliterations; for example, in line 2, *miʔalup*/*miakelup*, 'masters of the hunt'. The name of this *birua* is formed from the prefix *mi-*/, to have, possess, and *ʔalup*, to hunt, hunting ground. Here, the glottal stop of the usual lexical being *miʔalup* is accentuated, by playing on the points of articulation until the pronunciation of the voiceless stop consonant k. An identical form is found in the couple in line 5, *mibaḷisin*/*misaḷikiḍ*, 'masters of the village gates', in which *saḷikiḍ* is the commonly used term for gate, and *baḷisin* is given as an archaism. Is this the creation of a new esoteric lexical unit in which the vowels remain the same and the consonants have been changed? The 'masters of the ground', *mibabuyul*/*mibabuŋai*, in line 3 seem to represent a formation of this type but it has not been possible to

identify the bases *buyul* and *buŋai*; the syllable /-*ba*-/ is the doubling of the first syllable of the base, which has an emphatic function. In line 4, *temuadatar*/*temuadekal*, 'those who make the village', both terms are formed from the base *tu*, to make, the infix /-*em*-/, marker of the actor focus, the construction marker *a* and the substantives *datar*/*dekal*, village. The three lexical units *temu a dekal* form a single unit when speaking of the tutelary ancestors. In line 23, we find *pakabanan*/*pakabekaɭ*, formed from the prefix *paka*-/, to put in the state of, and the base *bekaɭ*, new. The meaning of *banan* probably comes from *banban*, to feel better, to console, to get up, and by stretching its meaning, 'east'. Alliterations are often accompanied by onomatopoeia or are, themselves, onomatopoeic; for example, lines 12 and 32, *kagerarger* < *gerger*, to give someone a fright by making them jump. In this case, we note the insertion of the syllable /-*ar*-/ in the traditional manner of infixes, but with the aim of creating esoteric language.

EXTENSIVE USE OF METAPHORS

The real meaning is hidden beneath a symbolic image; for example, in line 7, *ɖa amian*, a year's duration, and *ɖa buʈeɭan*, the internode of a bamboo; in lines 22 and 37, *pinayapai*, formed from the infix /-*en*-/, the marker of the actor focus (after the phonemes p and b, the infix /-*em*-/ becomes /-*en*-/) and *payapai*, to flutter in the wind. The whole is indicated by a simple metonymy, not by giving a host of details: during invocations, fluttering ribbons symbolise the bag, or even the shamans themselves. These metaphors are used only by the ritual specialists[20], with a view to esoterism. The metaphor in line 39 closes all invocations because it is a way of 'thanking' the spirits. In *mugaruta*, we find the base *garut*, comb, in the inflected form of the actor focus *mu-garut*, to comb, with the suffix -*a*/ indicating the immediate future, a polite form. The parallelism *daʾusa* consists of the base *daʾus*, oil, and the same suffix -*a*/. The literal translation is 'let us comb and oil[21] the *aulas*', which the shamans simply translate as 'let us give thanks'.

A final example chosen from the third part of this 'information' – not transcribed here – is dedicated to shaman ancestors called *ɖa temaʈaʾep, ɖa murabarabak*. First, we find the construction marker for indefinite objects and the agentive form *ɖa*, followed by the inflected form of *ʈaʾep*, to lie down; the doubling of the first syllable of the base is emphatic. This may therefore be translated as 'those lying down', to which might be added 'for good'. The formation of the second lexical unit *ɖa murabarabak* is identical, the prefix *mu*-/ means 'to go' and the base *rabak* 'to surround', so this may be translated as 'those who go into the circle'. These metaphors are only found in invocations, and are well coded.

* * *

Through the examples I have just given, we can see that invocations are adapted to the problem in hand, and thus infinitely extensible. Rhythmic

speech coupled with the game of doubling provides a perfect matrix for the overuse of synonyms or pseudo-synonyms. The automatism of doubling is a form of poetry, and seems to leave the words with only their sonorities. Patients let themselves be lulled by the rapid fluidity of words that they do not want to understand in any case, since they are reserved for *benabulu* and shamans. In reality, we cannot speak of a specific language in this context; the use of affixation and phonology, which plays an important part in esoteric language, belongs to everyday speech, but a specialised lexical corpus, and a sequence of terms often missing out pronouns and construction markers, make this language dense and obscure. We note that this 'information' is addressed to the *birua* by the shamans in their role as officiants; they do not expect any immediate answer,[22] but during the 'visit to the *aulas*', they speak as *birua*. It is no longer a monologue, but a dialogue during which, alternately, the shaman speaks in her own name and as a *birua*, answering an interlocutor's questions. Anyone can play this part – I was asked to do it by Hanako in 1993. The words are unclear, and the answers very vague, but the shaman will explain when she 'returns'. An interesting example is provided by the elderly Senten, who, in 1993, asked the *birua* and the ancestors about the cause of her backache. During the voyage, the *biruas*' reply was very elliptical, and Senten could only frown. When she 'returned', Hanako told her what she had seen: 'A bamboo stolon was nipping the back of an ancestor on the father's side.' The shaman advised Senten to go and cut the bamboo that was growing near the grave of her ancestor. (Epilogue: in 1997, I was worried about Senten's bad back, since her descendants had dug over the ancestor's grave, and found no bamboo stolons there. Nevertheless, the grandmother's backache had vanished!)

The power of invocatory words is strengthened by the voice and gestures. The shamans' vocal technique enables them to switch from a chest voice, for the calling and dismissal of *birua*,[23] to a head voice, a source of emotional tension when she encounters them. The shamans' natural voices have a very extensive tessitura. They adopt a strangled, sobbing voice when they reach the apex of their emotion at the point when they meet the *birua* responsible for the disorder, or when they 'extract' a bad spell from a place or a person. Some of them use a functional dysphonia – like nodules on the vocal cords – to change the timbre of their voices each time they meet a new *birua*, especially during the annual voyage.[24] The voice translates perfectly the shamans' ritual and emotional trajectory. Their gestures are codified, which accentuates the specificity of each prayer that bears the name of the ritual of which it is the central part. Gestures to call and dismiss *birua* are always the same: in the first case, fired clay beads are thrown at them and in the second, wine. On the other hand, the areca nuts and gestures characterising the ritual are completely different according to whether one is dealing with *penelin*, 'separation', *semirap*, 'cleansing', or *paʔiɖ*, 'recall of . . .'.

The metaphoric language of ritual objects

There is a correspondence between the uttered invocation and the objects used in the ritual. The products and materials used, such as the sickle, the rattle or wine, are witnesses whose names are charged with power. The offering of areca nuts made to thank the *birua* when they are dismissed is accompanied by the name of each part of the areca palm supposed to be active. We must also include, of course, areca nuts and fired clay beads, *inasi* (see Chapter 3).

The 'spirits' language' is certainly not the sum of ancient elements not used in contemporary language, even if the Puyuma say that it is 'an ancient language that only *birua* and ritual specialists understand'. Certain lexical units are enriched by a set of metaphors, others are probably words or names from the past, more or less altered, and used solely for their phonic value. Translation consists above all of finding in the so-called 'sacred' word the ordinary word; nevertheless, some words retain their semantic secrets. Is it possible that the symmetry of synonyms leads to the creation of new lexical units? This ritual language is certainly not a secret one, but must remain inaccessible to those not specialised in ritual. The fact that the audience does not know the meaning of this language is the result not of a taboo but simply of indifference and ignorance on the part of those who do not need to know it, but also the ignorance of the religious specialists themselves, as I have already pointed out. Shamans love words for the sake of the words themselves, synonyms and metaphorical expressions.

Functions of shamans

I will study in detail the rituals listed in the preceding chapter. Today, shamans are above all therapists. Their therapeutic role is taken in the broadest sense, preventing or healing biological and/or sociological disorders. They hold important spiritual power, and intervene daily in each situation. Their power is especially important since they are the keepers of the past and the ritual language. However, they have no economic power. The income of the doyenne, the most often consulted, is about the same as a factory worker's monthly salary. They play no political role, since this power is held by the village chief and Elders, and power in the ancestral cult house is held by the *benabulu*. Even their personal power is sometimes limited, but not shared with the bamboo diviner.

The Puyumas' daily life is marked by so many taboos and obligations that it is impossible not to break one of the former or to forget one of the latter. The shamans are there to restore order, or to rectify mistakes. There are evil spells but shamans claim that these are never their doing. Nevertheless, the evil spell to which Irubai fell victim on her investiture day was cast, according to her, by her mistress of ceremonies, Alaw. These jealousies are

the result of competition for building up a clientele, since without clients, a shaman cannot exist. There was rivalry for the training of the promising new shaman Irubai. As soon as her training is finished, a young shaman starts to be asked for personally, and as thanks for her training, the beginner asks for her instructress's presence and shares her fee, giving her the larger share.

Rites performed by shamans

Native nosology makes a clear distinction between trifling seasonal or superficial ailments, and other serious illnesses. For the former, the patient goes to see the shaman, whereas, in general, the shaman visits her patient. She questions the *birua*, and tells the patient the cure. An offence must be rectified, and, normally, an offering to the *birua* will suffice. Itching is almost always the consequence of an insult to the grain *birua, bini* (the husk of the grain is called *samek*, to itch is *samek*).

Rites are divided into two categories, everyday (ordinary rites) and exceptional (collective or non-collective rites). The former leave little scope for improvisation. The latter are far less frequent and demand far greater personal investment, and the use of the rattle. But, whatever the ritual performed, it must be effective – a cured patient, an accident-free car or a prosperous business is proof of the ritual's efficacy.

Everyday, non-collective rites

For social disorders, the shaman does not intervene for an individual, but she emphasises the whole social code through the infringements that have been made to this code. Rites of a prophylactic nature are numerous, and protect the social space: village, houses or fields. The building of a new house calls for 'cleansing' rites, *semirap*, and 'protection' rites, *pametek*. A newly cleared field is systematically 'separated', *penelin*, from accidentally killed snakes and thieving birds. Any new object, vehicle or ancestral altar also undergoes a 'separation' rite, *penelin*. The list of rites is not exhaustive, since a new problem generates a new rite.

As far as biological disorders are concerned, taking medicine is not prohibited, but the cause of the illness must be known. The doctor treats the patient's body, while the shaman deals with his *tinabawan*. She is there to rectify offences to the *birua*, since illness is a manifestation of the *biruas*' displeasure. Treating the body without taking their demands into account is committing an even greater offence. The shaman prescribes treatment for the offence against the *birua*, and the doctor provides the medicine to cure the body. For example, Irubai had a headache, and took an aspirin without seeking the cause of her pain, and the next day suffered from a violent stomach ache. The doyenne's daughter, herself a grandmother, had almost

completely lost her voice. Her mother refused to let her have an operation, even though the surgeon guaranteed a satisfactory result. Her mother has still not discovered the reason for this loss of voice. During the 'voyage to the *aulas*' in 1984, the doyenne questioned the ancestors, but their words were confused, and the operation was postponed indefinitely. Hanako's husband fell ill. The doyenne questioned the *birua*, who told her that during the burial of a relation, he had discovered a Japanese sabre and brought it home. The ancestors did not want to 'smell' this sabre that had belonged to a Japanese enemy. The husband took it back to the graveyard. He went to see a doctor, and had a successful prostate operation.

Before arriving at her client's house, the shaman knows the case. Her first gesture is to bring out her bag and put the strap over her left shoulder; the bag will stay there throughout the ritual. The ceremony always begins with information to the *birua* recited outside, while throwing fired clay beads towards the four cardinal points. For diagnosis, she places three areca nuts in the palm of her outstretched left hand, and recites the names of the *birua*, first the most common, such as the 'masters of the hunt', the 'masters of the ground' and the 'masters of the village gates', then, according to circumstances, those responsible for change: dead ancestors, the *birua* of grain, of the road, of water etc. When she calls the offended *birua*, her voice changes, she weeps copiously, chokes and has difficulty finishing her invocation. Benoist (1982: 232) describes the beginning of a consultation for a possessed person in La Réunion:

> Joseph begins an invocation in Tamil, in which he recites one by one the names of the gods. First he mentions Canabadi (Ganapati), then Shiva, and again Ganesh, this time under the name of Vinayaka. After that come the names of the Hindu pantheon, first those of pan-Indian Hinduism, then the gods of the village, and finally demon spirits. He then mentions his 'uncle', Moutou. His voice becomes blurred, and he begins a series of deep, whistling breaths, his words are interrupted, and he breathes out, snorting, as though emerging from water.

As soon as the offended *birua* makes itself known, the shaman rectifies the offence; in other words, she proceeds with the cure, by exorcising evil, or by placing offerings, or by performing another ritual. During the ritual, she 'sees' the *birua* she has invoked 'who are there'.

Exceptional, non-collective rites

All these rituals necessitate the use of the rattle. 'Recalling with a hand gesture, without words', *penaʔiḍ*, an adulterous husband, the wandering

tinabawan of a living person or the *tinabawan* of someone who has died an unfortunate death, to settle it on the altar or ask for explanations of his death, requires the intervention of a shaman. It is not enough to discover the place where the husband is hiding, he must be separated from his mistress. In the Puyuma village of Apapolo, an unfaithful husband had left his wife more than six months previously. The abandoned wife requested the intervention of the doyenne and Irubai, and, after a ritual lasting several hours, the door opened and the husband walked in, to live with his wife again.

The great annual festival, *pualasakan*[25] is the moment when the shaman 'is in the *aulas*'. *Pualasakan* takes place on the third day of the third moon. On that day, the 'first shaman', Samguan, during a spontaneous manifestation of the *birua*, is said to have received from the sky his ritual bag with all the objects inside. This ritual lasts eight days: on the first day, the doyenne requests the help of the bamboo diviner; the same evening, all the shamans intone the *a cappella* 'appeasement' chant, *benanban*; on the second day, they 'separate', *penelin*, the miasma from their sanctuary; on the third day, they perform the purification rite by water of themselves and their bags, *mu?enai*; the fourth day is a rest day; on the fifth day, they 'dampen', *paresi*, their auxiliary spirits, who have been resting on the beach since the second day, so that they return to refresh themselves on the altar of their sanctuary; the same night, they make their ritual bags for the new year; on the sixth day, they celebrate *pualasakan*; on the seventh day, they give a banquet for the villagers, during which gifts are exchanged, and the night ends with the singing of magnificent 'words of offering'; on the last night they 'are in the *aulas*', *yaulas*.

Here is the account of Samguan's investiture:

The legend of Samguan, told by Sising of the *Luŋaḍan* household

1 The legend of these shamans,
2 Our ancestors
3 Know it thus:
4 Samguan the ancestor
5 Was a man who worked in the fields,
6 Yes, he went to the fields
7 To plough the earth.
8 One day while he was ploughing,
9 He suddenly felt a strong desire to sleep.
10 He stopped his ox,
11 And dozed.
12 Suddenly, he heard the sound of rattles,
13 *Srin-srin*, up in the sky.

14 The ancestor did not know what to do.
15 No, he did not know what to do.
16 He was afraid of what had fallen from the sky.
17 A bag had fallen.
18 (Just like the one shamans carry today.)
19 He took this bag
20 And saw it contained a rattle.
21 And little glass beads, *nirawi*.
22 That is how our customs began,
23 The shamans' quests and practices.
24 This necklace
25 Was a ramie thread
26 Threaded with glass beads
27 Passed
28 Through the hole in the rattle.

Now, let us follow the doyenne's 'voyage to the *aulas*'.

I have been present at several ceremonies, and the continuum is always the same. A few years ago, shamans still agreed to make this 'voyage' to heal a seriously ill person. Today they refuse, since it is too tiring. They only go to the *aulas* once a year, on the last night of their annual festival, *pualasakan*. It is the chance for patients to ask questions that have remained unanswered during the year, and for the shamans to summarise the past year, and to request advice or instructions for the coming year. It is the time when they communicate directly with their *birua*.

The 'voyage to the *aulas*' can take place only at night in the dimly lit sanctuary, after washing thoroughly, and only if the shaman is calm and rested. In 1984, they put off the ceremony for one night because they had only just finished a banquet. The doyenne sits down, her legs stretched out stiffly, facing her *biruas*' altar and the two bamboo stems. She lets down her long hair, which she allows to fall in waves to screen her face. She takes her rattle out of her bag. First, she inflates her cheeks with wine, which she sprays into the hole of the musical instrument (*birua* like wine) and starts improvising a song while waving her rattle; this music accompanies the entire ritual. When the song ends, her voice changes and she meets the first *birua*, which, like all the other *birua*, announces its arrival by a piercing cry. The nodules on her vocal cords give a very wide tessitura. She is assisted by Irubai, who asks the questions and relays the answers. The doyenne's 'voyage to the *aulas*' attracts several clients every year, whereas in some years Hanako was assisted only by her husband, who served as interpreter, although since his death, she has been helped by her clients.

The ancestor speaks, and the shaman keeps waving her rattle. If Irubai asks a question and the rattle does not ring when it is shaken, the shaman is searching for a *birua*, but has not met it.

(I, Irubai; A, ancestor; S, shaman)

(An ancestor has entered.)
I: What is your name?
A: The elector-spirit. I have come to see the children.
I: Some wine?
(At this point, the doyenne retains some wine in her mouth and sprays the rattle with it.)
A: This new year.
(The *birua* weeps unceasingly.)
I: You weep, you have not yet spoken to us at the dawn of this new year.
(Her words are shaken with sobs, the instrument refuses to ring in spite of the offerings of wine and the waving. The shaman interrupts her movements and speaks.)
S: The rattle is disturbed by the presence of foreigners.
A: The ancestors who see everything are afraid of what a shaman has done at the dawn of this new year; a shaman has forgotten to dedicate her prayers to us.
I: Why does this rattle refuse to ring?
A: What you must do, the ancestors tell you: thank us with wine.
S: I dreamed of what must be done to the shaman. You will announce it to the *aulas*.
A: The dead shaman ancestors, the elector-spirits, and those who watch, have conferred, do not pursue the shaman who has forgotten. Take the one who knows, she who has undergone the investiture ceremony.[26] I tell you, recite prayers for the new year. The ancestors will not make Irubai ill because she has overtaken her elder.
(Another *birua* intervenes.)
I: Who are you?
A: I am old Kakai. I am going to Tanpuku in Buak . . .
(A third *birua*.)
I: Who are you?
A: I am old Lualai. I come to see.

This goes on until three or four o'clock in the morning, with long silences, songs etc., and is followed by the final song, with fixed words.

There is a serious problem to be solved, posed by Agwi, who has just given up her duties. The *birua* are looking for her, but in vain, and finally they inform the shamans that they will not bother with her any more and will go directly to Irubai, who follows Agwi in the hierarchy.

During this ceremony, the shaman is completely in control of the *birua*, and her attitude is calm and serene. Sometimes, the shaman speaks, sometimes the ancestors express themselves through her mouth. In general, the shaman's words can be recognised because she sings and the *birua* speaks,

and she also announces its arrival by a little cry. The women differ in their memories of their 'voyage to the *aulas*'. All shamans remember it, give an account of it and advise their patients. Hanako and Atung even give a description of this wonderful world. Only Irubai remembers nothing. In any case, 'if her *tinabawan* left, she would die', she says, as I have already mentioned.

Each shaman announces her return by the final song. Both arms surround her head, and she falls heavily on her side. No one present moves, it is the moment of *abedes*, 'little death', as they say. It is the time when the shaman has not completely returned, when the *birua* may keep her *tinabawan*. The participants listen for a snore, which means that she has returned from this long, exhausting voyage and is sleeping. The *tinabawan* has rejoined the body in peace. A participant shakes her, she snorts, then sprays some wine into her rattle and puts it away. She begins the account of her 'voyage to the *aulas*' and gives advice.

The recall of the *tinabawan* of a villager is now described. When Irubai says that the departure of her *tinabawan* would lead to death, it is both true and false. In fact, 'what makes a human being', *paʔʈaw*, situated somewhere at the top of the skull, cannot depart, but one, or part of one, *tinabawan* may leave the body momentarily, without the human being running a serious risk, according to the Puyuma. The recall of one of these *tinabawan* is the second exceptional rite.

Let us examine the recall of the *tinabawan* of Atuk, a commander in the national army. After a jeep accident, this officer remained in a coma for a week. He had had one operation and was soon to have another. Two shamans, the doyenne and Irubai, acted together in the succession of rituals. They made a diagnosis, which was attributed to multiple causes: (a) Atuk had slept in a bed where a man had died, and his *birua* had taken Atuk's *tinabawan* away; (b) his father had died several years previously but Atuk had never given him 'his share', although he was well paid in the army. (c) Atuk did not take part in the purification rites of *kisuap* and *puenai* after the death of his mother's youngest brother, but went home to Taizhong to take an exam; (d) he was surrounded by jealous people, his maternal uncle, Paiwan neighbours. The two shamans therefore performed all the reparation rites, beginning with the rite of 'giving the share' to his father, followed by the separation rite, *penelin*, on 30 January 1984. On 10 February, Atuk and the two shamans went to the river and performed the rite of purification by water, *puenai*, followed by the definitive dismissal of the *birua*, *pareputʂ*. Finally, on 13 February, the two shamans recalled Atuk's *tinabawan*.

The ceremony began with the information to the *birua* and the preparation of areca nuts. Then, when it was time for the recall, the doyenne and Irubai folded a banana leaf in three and put their rattle down on it. Irubai put the strap of her bag around her neck and not on her left shoulder as usual. The banana leaf was placed in the opening of the bag, which was resting on her chest. The two women called and called the *tinabawan* by its

birth name, Atuk, and, all of a sudden, the *tinabawan* became lodged in the hole in the rattle, and the two women wept and stroked the rattle to appease the *tinabawan*. The banana leaf and the rattle containing the *tinabawan* were then placed on the patient's head. One of the shamans sprayed the hole in the instrument with wine to drive the *tinabawan* from it and transfer it to Atuk's head.

> I wish to catch this man's *tinabawan*, which has perhaps been borne off by those who have died of illness, or committed suicide, or by the ancestors. With the help of my rattle, I am trying to get it back quickly. You have already received the offerings that should help you to free it. It seems that you did not want it to be with us. His *tinabawan* has not yet been welcomed back. I am searching with my rattle for the *tinabawan* of this man that may have been taken by the ancestors. You have already received the offerings of *sabun* and *putima*, the *kianun* prayers that should make you decide to free it. The areca nuts show you the way, follow the road we have drawn for you. But it seems you don't want to.

(Epilogue: in 1997, Atuk was in excellent health.)

Now I give an account of the recall of the *tinabawan* of Asarup, a shaman. This recall was a little different on account of her function.

> I use my rattle to demand the *tinabawan* of my younger sister, Asarup. Is it you, Amui, who wants to take her *tinabawan*? You no longer belong to the world of men. You do not want us to be reunited with our younger sister. I have not yet looked properly, I will continue to search for the *tinabawan* of my younger sister. We have already addressed the *kianun* prayers to you. We have already sought her *tinabawan*. Do not refuse us. You still think you can take it. We are going to seek for it and bring it back.

Then she called Asarup's *tinabawan* several times. (Epilogue: Asarup died a year later of generalised cancer.)

During these two recalls, the shaman searched, called and begged the *birua* to give back the wandering *tinabawan*, which has left its seat. In the case of Atuk, a search was made among the victims of unfortunate death, unsatisfied ancestors always ready to steal the *tinabawan* of a descendant. In the case of Asarup, the doyenne called upon Amui, a shaman who had died several months previously and was trying to take a companion with her. The prayer is repeated until the shaman brings back the *tinabawan* in her rattle. She enumerates all the rituals already performed to satisfy the *tinabawan*-stealing *birua*. It is with her rattle that she gives rhythm to her 'voyage to the *aulas*', and it is inside this instrument that she brings back the *tinabawan*.

Not only does the shaman maintain tradition, but she also reveals conflicting relationships within the family or the neighbourhood, which, such as in the case of Atuk, are often linked to jealousy or fear. These problems of society find their expression in witchcraft, always practised, according to the shamans, by people from outside the village. Shamans do not use their power to harm or procure advantages. It is also for this reason that they insist that there should be no confusion between them and 'those who have the evil eye'. Bad shamans do not exist, and it would be a violation of the entire profession if one of them acted in an inauspicious way, and the multiple consequences would finish them off. At each exorcism ceremony I attended, there was no point in asking who was guilty, since the answer was, invariably, 'we don't know'. However, only those possessed of power, like shamans or *benabulu*, including, and especially, the Chinese, can cast an evil spell.

Nevertheless, shamans can perform a few 'tricks', such as helping a young man to obtain a girl's favours, or helping young people to pass their exams; in these cases they perform the 'attracting' ritual, *purinakep*. For example, a shaman placed an areca nut under the examining jury's table to 'buy' a young girl's success in a sports competition, and the girl won. Areca nuts drive away pathogenic forces, according to the shamans.

It is difficult to find out about religious practices before colonisation, and the Puyuma always repeat: 'Before Samguan, shamans did not exist, there were only "those with the evil eye", *miapali.*' But who were they?

The miapali*, 'those with the* pali*, the evil eye'*

My elderly informant, Itung, told me about Samguan's investiture, then suddenly, in line 10, mixed it with a story about *miapali*, repeating in line 39 that Samguan was not one. It is very difficult to find out whether Samguan 'had the evil eye'. Another informant, Araitai, claims that Samguan's father had the evil eye.

The legend describes this man working in the fields. Normally, men hunted and women worked in the fields. As all Puyuma know, Samguan looked like a woman, *mutubabayan* ('to be transformed into a woman'). He was a man, but nevertheless he ploughed the fields. Samguan, though not considered to 'have the evil eye', belonged to a category shunned by society. He was rejected by the society of virile men, without belonging to that of women, and his investiture enabled him not only to become integrated, but also to acquire power. Women 'had the evil eye'. This evil eye was located in the palm of the hand, or on the forehead, but other places were possible. Here is Itung's confused account:

1 The investiture took place in the sun,
2 While he was harvesting the rice.
3 The sun was very hot,

At the stroke of noon.
He put down his sickle.
He was not a *miapali*,
And yet he frightened people.
His investiture, made easier by the helping *birua*,
He who is loved by the *birua*, 'he who has the evil eye'.
Formerly, a *karpalipali*
Told the women
To look.
A branch of areca nuts was going to fall from the sky.
He said: 'If you do not believe
In my "evil eye",
Look at my power.'
That is how we tell it.
'Now, I recite,
You are going to be frightened.'
A chicken fell from the beam,
Clucking coucouroucou, it was particularly handsome.
He went on reciting,
And a hen fell from the beam.
She fell clucking 'cacaca'.
'Now, look at me, I will recite,
I am going to use my "evil eye" and change my power.'
He recited.
And, the hen over there on the beam,
Beat her wings,
'cacaca', she said,
and while 'he who has the evil eye'
recited,
We did not see the bird any more.
It had disappeared, flown away, gone.
But he made areca nuts fall,
That we are forbidden to chew, it is taboo.
That is how a man could scare us long ago.
Samguan suddenly went into a 'trance',
But he does not look like 'those who have the evil eye', the *karpalipali*.

The mialigu[27]

People accused of 'having the evil eye' had the reputation of killing instantly anyone whom they looked at. They were obliged to live alone, in the dark, and their food was left at the door. Some old people claim to have known of, but never seen, people who 'had the evil eye'. Other informants, such as the *benabulu* Karagar, smile when spoken to about these individuals. 'Those

who had the evil eye' were excluded from the community, but there existed another category of people who lived normally: 'those who possessed premonitory powers, or the power to become invisible or make things invisible', the *mialigu.* Certain informants claim that these were mad people or sterile women. It is whispered, here and there, that the shaman Sumaladam, Hanako's brother, was a *mialigu*. Here is a *mialigu* story:

1 This *mialigu*, or so they say;
2 Had the power to transform his body,
3 When he wanted to move,
4 When he wanted to barter.
5 (We used to go to Turan shan.[28])
6 He ordered his wife to leave first,
7 Telling her 'I'm leaving shortly',
8 His wife left without dawdling.
9 But, on the way, she was suddenly frightened,
10 She heard the sound of their ox's bells.
11 When she got to Turan shan,
12 He had finished bartering.
13 And a lot of new things had been exchanged, or so the story goes.

We may assume that society rejected a category of person – either for physical defects or simply because people such as effeminate men were marginalised – isolating them by assigning them the 'evil eye' or accusing them of witchcraft. But these elements do not enable us to understand either the feminisation of the profession or the changes in ritual practices. My theory is that the first change in religious practices took place at the time when hunting was abandoned in favour of rice-growing,[29] when men may have left shamanistic practices to women but kept the community rites for themselves. This loss of interest in hunting became permanent when it was forbidden by the Japanese administration, as described in the preceding chapter. The Puyuma group was probably a shamanistic hunting society, whose ritual practitioners were men, before becoming a shamans' society, whose officiants were women. The second change that took place at the same time, or shortly afterwards, was a logical rather than a chronological development: the impact of Japanese colonisation, which transformed the ritual practices I was able to observe today.

Shamans and society

At this point, I would like to remind the reader of relevant elements enabling us to put forward certain hypotheses. Shamanistic practice and language differ little within the group of shamans. First, they all use the same term, *yaulas*, 'to be in the *aulas*', when they mention their 'voyage'. But young

Irubai, although using this term, probably out of habit, says *meredek na temuamuan*, 'the ancestors are coming'. Although Irubai still uses the same term, *yaulas*, as her elders, for her the relationship is reversed not only in her speech but also in her ritual practice. The old shamans go on a voyage 'to be in the *aulas*', whereas for Irubai, it is the ancestors who come down. Further, the old shamans Hanako and Atung give a very vivid description of the *aulas*, whereas Irubai says she cannot remember either her words or her gestures during the *yaulas* rite (she has asked for video recordings of these interventions). Second, Irubai regularly incarnates *birua*. For example, during the 1993 *yaulas* ritual, she incarnated her electing ancestor, her rough-mannered maternal great-aunt. She imitated her extremely masculine voice and gestures, and split pieces of bamboo – her great-aunt was also a bamboo diviner.[30] The same year, during the purification of the sanctuary, she incarnated a young man who had hanged himself, the doyenne's grandson. The other shamans never incarnate *birua*. Third, Hanako suggests a marital relationship with her ancestor-spirit(s). When she returns from the fields, and has washed, she claims to 'have been in the *aulas*', where she became pregnant for the first time after several years of sterility. In contrast, Irubai mentions a filial relationship, and says that 'my electing ancestor wanted me to become her daughter'. Hamayon (1990a) has studied hunting and farming communities in Siberia. According to Hamayon (1986: 126), in the context of a hunting society these spirits are the shaman's marriage partners, whereas in a farming society they are ancestors; Puyuma society is undergoing the change from a hunting to a farming community, from a concept where the group ensures its reproduction through marriage, to one where the group relies on private property and places value on filiation as a reproductive mechanism. Finally, the women's election by ancestors is revealed by an extraordinary experience: visions, dreams etc. Only Irubai had a different experience, the impression of a heavy weight on her chest and shoulders, which is more like a symptom found in possession cults, described, among others, by Andras Zempleni (1986: 246) in his account of people possessed by spirits among the Wolof and Lebou of Senegal: 'persistent sensations of internal movement or weight on the thorax in the person possessed by a *rab*'.

We also note jealousy among the shamans, as shown in the famous example of Irubai's investiture. Five years after this ceremony, the doyenne, jealous and displeased at being rejected by the bamboo diviner, who appointed his own sister-in-law as mistress of ceremonies, held this ceremony responsible for all the woes of the community. Yet, when it is possible, shamans 'work'[31] in groups of two or three. They even show great solidarity, and form a small community, which organises a feast every year on the third day of the third moon, aimed at erasing the rivalries of the past year and improving the cohesion of the group. 'When shamanistic societies only know state centralisation via acculturation or domination by a state-controlled society, or after

internal changes, then shamanism is marginalised, changing, or even caused to disappear' (Hamayon 1982: 42). Integration into the Japanese colonial state led to the decline of shamanism: the institutional link between households and shamans was broken, and features more typical of possession cults emerged.

Impact on shamanism of the transition to farming

To support this theory, let us return to the myth at the origin of the 'rite of the deer':

> *M1*. It is told that the two brothers Aʔunayan and Aʔibuʔan, born of the marriage of *miwali tu kuti*, 'toothed vagina', originally from Puyuma, with the chief of Katipul village, belonged to the group 'born of a stone'. After their mother's death, the two boys, brought up in Katipul, went to live with their maternal grandmother. After killing their sister, they were expelled from the village, and stole sugar cane from their neighbours, the La⌊anes, who imprisoned the younger brother. He was rescued by his elder brother with the help of a kite. They landed in Bulabulak where they built the first house on pillars, *takuban*, and forbade any adult to enter it. Their father, chief of Katipul village, thought he was allowed to break this taboo, and the younger brother did not hesitate to kill him and smear the walls of the building with his blood, which purified everything. The parricidal son became an invalid, and it was the mythical bird, *tekuer*, who advised them to perform the atonement 'rite of the deer'. Once the act was performed, the younger brother recovered his health and the two brothers went back to the village.

Is it surprising that the bird called the two brothers, who initiated the age-system responsible for training hunters and warriors? Informants mention that the 'rite of the deer' took place every year after a head-hunt. In the story, the two brothers killed their father, but in the ritual context of the age-system, the son, promoted to the age-set of 'virile-warrior', no longer killed his father but cut off the head of an *alter ego*. For that head to become a friend and give the benefits of which it was capable, according to the Puyuma, a deer had to be sacrificed. Moreover, if the warrior returned alive, bearing a head, it was proof that he enjoyed the ancestors' protection, so they had to be thanked.

The bird, *tekuer*,[32] enabled the boys to manage these different phases of their lives. The joint presence of a bird and a deer is a challenge to the ethnologist in this shamans' society. Might it be possible to give a shamanistic interpretation of this text? The deer, this game which has never been replaced despite the ban on hunting,[33] is given back to the ancestors in

exchange for the head. But this exchange would be fruitless if the severed head were not potentially a source of fertility. Thanks to this head, the young man enters the age-set of 'virile warriors' and thus acquires the right to hunt, wage war and procreate. The deer is a thanks offering to the ancestors for their protection and this gift obliges them to give anew, i.e. ensure that this head gives fertility. We should remember that after returning from a head-hunt, the murderer waits, with the head, in a hut built outside the village, and he is forbidden to enter the village enclosure with this evil-bearing head. The day after the return, the men from this killer's men's house catch a muntjak on the mountain and perform 'the rite of the deer' in the ancestral cult house to which he belongs; it is at this point that the head and the initiate enter the village. The deer is killed in the mountains by the hunters and offered to the ancestors, but this circuit of exchanges – ancestors → head → deer → ancestors – opens up another circuit of exchanges with the 'masters of the hunt', *birua* that must be thanked for the capture of the muntjak. The new hunter, thanks to these three elements (ancestor, head, deer), will catch game, and each year, like the other hunters, will have to take part in the ritual of offerings dedicated to Takio, which takes place at the foot of the mountain-ancestor.

In Puyuma, they tell another myth, M2, whose themes are different, but throw light on M1. In July, the upper moiety performs a ritual dedicated to Takio. But who is Takio? Some informants speak not of 'feeding Takio', but of 'feeding the fish that brought back Takio', and others speak of 'feeding the mountain'. The *benabulu* Gulum tells us: 'We, from the Gamugamut men's house, go to feed him up north, like the men from the Patapaŋ men's house. We go north of the river. We go there to give him his share. First, we cook the rice, then we put it on a shelf and feed him. Before, we set fire to the mountain. Today it is forbidden to set fire to the mountain, so we cut a small heap of miscanthus and set fire to that. That is the rite we perform at the end of the harvest, it is our tradition.'

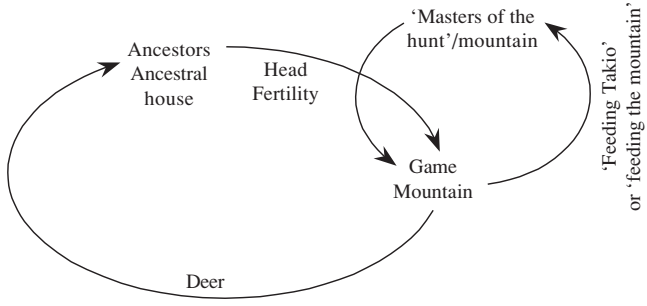


Figure 7.6 Circuits of exchanges

M2. That Takio[34] was a thief. The night after rice cakes were made, he cried out, 'ouh ouh'. The worried villagers got up and went to look in the bamboos. Then Takio picked up the big mortar and made off with the cakes. His brothers, ashamed, decided to take him on a hunting expedition to Sanasan island,[35] going via a bridge made from vines and roots. There, they asked Takio to stay in a hideout, telling him that many muntjaks would come there, and then they abandoned him. They went back again over the solid vine and root bridge. As soon as they got back, they cut through the vines and roots, which were borne away by the water. Takio no longer had a way back, and he lay down on the beach and dreamed. He dreamed that a big fish was carrying him on its back. When he woke up, a fish actually was waiting for him, so he got on its back. During the crossing, Takio regularly pinched the fish's fins so it would rise to the surface and enable him to breathe. When they got to the place called Kemiḍaenai, the fish ejected its passenger, asking him to feed it every year.

In July, the men's houses of the lower moiety go to the beach and feed the couple who are said to have brought grain back from Butul, and the men's houses of the upper moiety go to Kemiḍaenai ('comes from the water'), located at the foot of the mountain-ancestor, to honour Takio. Although the ritual performed by the lower moiety is to thank the ancestors who gave grain, it is more difficult to understand why the upper moiety offers a ritual to a rice cake thief or to the fish that brought him back. Takio came back alone, and did not bring anything. It may be necessary to attempt a different interpretation of M2. Takio, the sticky rice cake thief, was taken by his brothers to an island joined to the mainland by a vine and root bridge, where he waited for deer, he had a dream and returned mounted on a fish. We seem to be in a shamanistic context here: first, the bridge, the essential element leading the seer from the visible to the invisible world, then the search for game, the dream, and finally the return to the world of men with the hero of the story astride his aquatic mount.[36] But why did Takio steal rice cakes? We could consider this as a way of representing the transition from a hunting to a farming society. The theft of the cakes could signify this change to farming and Takio, the shaman, tried to get rid of the object that would deprive him of his function, which, in a hunting society, is the hunting of game. Taboos connected with hunting were numerous. Any decision to go on a hunting expedition was decided in each of the men's houses, which had their own hunting ground. The Puyuma hunted any game the mountain provided, and, more specifically, in a ritual context, monkeys and deer. It was forbidden to keep game for oneself, it had to be passed on. However, in a farming society, individuals possessed private property, which could be handed down, and which became a source of

covetousness and theft. The brothers discovered shame with Takio, the rice cake thief.

Let us not forget that it was the bird who demanded the deer, not the ancestors. 'The juxtaposition of bird and deer corresponds to a redundancy: the bird, like the deer, belongs to the world of the forest' (Hamayon 1990a: 494). In Puyuma, hunters listen attentively to the language of birds. In general, it is the Elders who, early in the morning, go to the *ɭaɭuwanan*, located at the edge of the village, to listen to the *mananagan* and *sirut* birds (unidentified).

This interpretation raises questions, in particular that of the feminisation of the function. The group has passed from an activity based mainly on hunting, gardening and gathering, to another based on farming. In the former society, men were hunters, and it was they who exercised the functions of shamans. In hunting societies the main function of the male shaman is negotiation with the 'masters of the hunt', *mi?alup*, to obtain luck in hunting during the year. Men took the game from nature, but they knew that their catch depended on the *biruas*' goodwill, and they had to 'give them their share', *semepaḍ*, in order to get more. Takio went into the *birua* world, mentioned here as the island of Sanasan, to make sure of their alliance, and to flush out the game, deer according to Puyuma legend. The two rituals performed by the ceremonial moieties support this hypothesis. The men from the lower moiety make an offering of sticky rice cakes, while those from the upper moiety cook a pig's lungs and claim that, formerly, they offered an animal killed on the mountain-ancestor – they flushed out the game by setting fire to the mountainside, as described in the legend of Karitag. The two rituals described in myth M1 (the two parricidal brothers and the 'rite of the deer') and the ritual 'feeding Takio or his mount' are part of the same quest: fertility.

The severed head and the offering of the deer both help the acquisition of a fertile wife and game, but the capture of game opens up another exchange circuit with the 'masters of the hunt', the real donors of game, who must be rewarded, not only for the capture of a deer, but for game in general. The 'feeding Takio' ritual, also known by some informants as 'feeding the mountain', is performed to thank these 'masters of the hunt' so that they will give more. There are two different places for these rituals: the 'rite of the deer' is dedicated to the ancestors, responsible for good health, and nowadays for good harvests, living in the sanctuary, whereas the offering to Takio or to the mountain is given to the 'masters of the hunt' living in the mountain-ancestor where the game is to be found. The 'rite of the deer' re-establishes social order by reintegrating the 'killer-warrior' in the same way that it re-established biological order for the parricidal son.

These two rituals also emphasise the relationship between the moieties. The upper moiety, occupied by the original inhabitants, retains the ritual dedicated to the 'masters of the hunt', and the lower moiety, where the non-founders live, practises the ritual of thanks to the grain-giving ancestors,

symbolising the transition from one society to the other. The Taiwanese ethnologist Hung Hsiu-kuei calls the ceremonies of the upper and lower moieties the 'harvest ritual', which seems to me to be merely the result of this transition from a hunting to a farming society. Today, the male ritual specialist asks for a good harvest in the ancestral cult house, since society is no longer dependent on hunting. If we adopt this interpretation, it is not surprising that the bird delivered its message to the two brothers, the initiators of the age-system that trains head-hunters – the heads themselves guaranteeing fertile wives – and hunters in search of luck in the hunt.

At this level, we will attempt to understand why certain Puyuma talk about 'feeding Takio'. Why is the offering to the ancestors made on the mountain, when the Puyuma raised 15–20 zebus per household? Let us re-examine Takio's journey. He went to an island to flush out game, but returned empty-handed. He left as a shaman, an intermediary between hunters and the 'masters of the hunt', but returned as an ancestor, which means he should be honoured. There has been a shift in the dedicatees of this ritual, who have changed from the mountain to Takio, the ancestor, but the same ritual place has been retained. The answer to the second question is, I think, that the Puyuma remain fundamentally hunters. They hunt at night, brave taboos and pay fines when they are stopped by police at dawn on mountain roads. The zebu, the domestic animal that drew carts to the fields, was fed and saved loss of face to those who had passed wind in public, whose flesh was never eaten, and that was finally sold, was not worthy of being offered to the ancestors. Only an animal caught in the mountains represented the nobility of men's activities. Without the capture of a deer in the mountain, the ritual of 'feeding the mountain' remains a closed circuit: 'masters of the hunt' → game → rite 'feeding the mountain'.

The men who go to 'feed the mountain' give an offering to the *birua* of the game-providing mountain, whose game is obtained thanks to the capture of a head – no head, no game. But those who 'feed Takio or his mount' are already participating in an ancestral cult, Takio is honoured as the first ancestor, at the origin of filiation, but still living in the mountain. He is the interface between the two traditions.

The Puyuma tell another myth, M3, which is the story of the love between a deer and a girl.

> *M3*. Once upon a time, there was a household where there lived a young girl by the name of Muatar. But, when the ramie was planted and growing well, a deer came to eat it. So, Muatar was ordered to watch the fields. A little later, her father came to see what the deer had eaten. But Muatar was asleep in the hut. Her father had come to see the ramie, and was suddenly frightened by a noise 'srin'. So, he approached the hut and came close to the post. The deer, lying down, was rubbing himself against it. The father shot an arrow,

> and immediately killed the animal. His belly was slit open and thrown into a tank of water, and his antlers were cut off. The girl came to look. She was overcome by grief. 'It was an old deer', said the father. 'Yes', said the child, going back into the hut, 'but so beautiful! Stand his antlers up', she said. When the antlers were standing up, the girl ran and impaled herself on them. 'Who am I?' asked the father sadly. 'So he was her lover'. He went home immediately to tell the story. He brought the lovers home and buried them together. Since then, people are buried together.

In this story there are several elements of relevance to my theory: first, the deer, the only acceptable game for the 'rite of the deer', who falls in love with the young girl set to guard the fields, then the death of this game, then the love between a woman and an animal, and finally the father's question, 'Who am I?' The transition from one society to the other, the attempt at a marriage between farming and hunting, is accomplished only in death, the death of the deer, a useless old animal, inflicted by the girl's father, a useless hunter who answers his own question by saying, 'I am nothing any more', by killing the object he wants. Does not this myth, like that of Takio, represent a variation on the theme of uselessness? Takio is a useless shaman whose fruitless search for game is a parody of the shaman's role, and the deer and the hunter are useless in a farming society. As for the story of the deer and the girl, is this not the reverse of the myth of Takio? The young girl in the story is not a shaman, but her lover is a male animal, which may represent the opposite of the human/spirit relationships described elsewhere for shamanism, where the hunter-shaman allies himself to the supernatural to catch game and marry the daughter of an animal spirit. The attempted union between a human woman and an animal (spirit) fails. Hamayon (1990a: 450) writes: 'Not only do all tales of women seduced by male spirits in animal form end badly – their fate is to go mad and die alone in the forest, not to become shamans, but also, love affairs between women and supernatural beings do not generally go as far as marriage, in contrast to those between humans.' Is this not a representation of a new form of contact with spirits, a marital relationship in which spirits take women, in direct contrast to the shamanistic relationship, as Hamayon (1990a: 735) writes:

> Such a reversal of the marriage between humanity and supernature, by investing supernature with the role of woman-taker, would lead to the feminisation of the shaman and bring him closer to the possessed person as he is seen in many societies worldwide: as the 'bride' of the spirit that possesses him, subject to him as he is to the human community, which assumes the role of woman-giver.

In this interpretation, the myth plays the role of link between the story of Takio (with the death of the male shaman and shamanism linked to hunting)

and the tale of Samguan (the effeminate man, working in the fields, and incorporating practices more typical of possession cults). It makes it easier to understand why the profession has become a feminine one.

The *benabulu's* leather bag is the only accessory mentioned that marks the difference between the two categories of religious practitioners. What skin is it made of? That of a wild animal? What does it contain? The women use a cloth bag, a domestic material woven by women. Is this not another proof of the transition from masculine to feminine.

The neighbouring group, the Amis (Bareigts 1976: 156), tells the same legend of 'The axis deer's wife':

> Once upon a time there was a girl who was the wife of an axis deer, and did not want to work with the other women, but worked alone every day. Her mother asked why this girl did not want to work in a group with the others. She said, 'Whatever you think, you must go and work in a group.' The child replied, 'I don't care about working in a group.' So her mother said, 'What is the matter with this child who does not want to go and work in a group?' The mother brought a meal out to the fields, and she heard a conversation, and laughter. 'Who is my daughter's companion?' she wondered. The mother went to see, but found no companion. 'Who was talking to you earlier?' she asked her daughter. The child told her mother, 'Who was talking to me? Nobody.' But when the mother looked at the work that had been done, it was the equivalent of the work of two people. She wondered, 'Who works with my daughter? Why is the work like this? How does she work? If she works alone how has she done so much?' The mother asked her daughter, 'Why do you hide your companion, who is he?' The daughter retorted, 'Who helps me to work? Nobody.' After the rice, the millet and the taro had grown, the girl's father said, 'I am going to see our field.' When he got there, the father noticed that the edge of the field had been cleared. He asked his daughter, 'Who has cleared the edge of this field?' He had noticed that it was trampled like a path. The girl's father returned home and asked, 'Which of you has been to the field?' 'Nobody has been.' He went back to see the field, and saw many hoof-marks of axis deer, but nobody had eaten any rice, millet or taro. 'Why has this axis deer been here? He hasn't eaten any of the crops. I am going to lie in wait for him.' The father went back to the field, taking his gun with him, and set up an ambush on the edge of the field. He had not been there long when the deer went towards the field. 'Come here, you will soon die', said the father, and when the deer came within range he pulled the trigger and fired. The gunshot rang out, and the axis deer fell down dead. The father went gleefully home. His daughter said, 'Show me the head.' The father

showed the deer's head. Then the daughter climbed up to the ceiling and said, 'Why have you killed my husband?' As she spoke, she threw herself from above on to the deer's antlers, and died instantly. The old father said, 'This deer was my daughter's husband, that is why the edge of the field was cleared', and he was filled with grief.

Impact on shamanism of Japanese colonisation

The second change is found with the arrival on the island in 1895 of the Japanese administration, which forbade ritual and shamanistic practices and head-hunts. The shamans claim that Samguan,[37] an effeminate man, was the first shaman and that before him there were only *miapali*. He was a contemporary of the parents of the oldest people still alive in the community today,[38] and was 25 when the Japanese arrived in 1895. However, the final song, a fixed song[39] sung by each shaman when she is in 'the *aulas*', gives a list of shaman ancestors, and mentions another personage, Udekaw (a woman). All the *birua* are ancestors featuring in genealogies, but Udekaw, whose name appears in this final song, and her favourite son Tuben are absent from them. Among the 13 active shamans, only Siawan[40] explains that Udekaw is an extremely old shaman who is lost in the mists of time. According to this explanation, she could be the 'real' first shaman. In this final song, Udekaw describes her voyage: 'I am leaving, I may look for the path; I may cross a suspension-bridge, *kayakai*,[41] perhaps walk at the edge of the waves, perhaps sink into the wet sand. I am going towards my successor, whom I have pampered, my favourite son Tuben, over there in Takilis.'[42]

Today, Samguan is mentioned as the first shaman. He is also the elector-spirit of the doyenne of the community and has been Namiko's since 1997. Udekaw seems to have been ousted in Samguan's favour under the influence of Japanese colonisation. The Japanese administration pursued the shamans and destroyed their attributes, and it is at that point that a man, Samguan, intervened. The story of his election tells us that he was working in the fields when the '*birua* who loved him' chose him and sent him down a bag with its attributes. The *birua* love those whom they punish for neglecting them, and torment their elect. Perhaps, after a complete interruption, shamanistic practices were revived secretly, but in a different form. Samguan may have restored, but also renovated, them. His first uncontrolled revelation by *birua* was changed by him into a ritual manifestation. The bag used by shamans today is an exact replica of the one that fell from the sky at Samguan's feet when he was chosen in the fields.

Hamayon (1982: 24) notes that: 'It is especially when there is political subjection, religious acculturation or social upheaval that the difference between the sexes is the most revealing: it often results in the reversal of the sex in the majority in the profession', and continues, 'To this we may also add that myths often attribute the origin of shamanism to the opposite sex

from the one practising it – which could have, among others, a compensatory effect on sociological constraints, and confirms that shamanistic practices concern both sexes.' We may assume that the impact of Japanese colonisation was responsible for changes in practices.

Shamanistic practices and speech today

Observing rituals and listening to the shamans' words have led me to think that shamanistic practice is going through a new transformation process, in which Irubai, like Samguan a century ago, is instrumental. The shamans include more and more elements of possession cults, to the detriment of the 'voyage' that the women now undertake only once a year, whereas formerly they made it for each case of serious illness. We may note elements attributed to shamanism, such as the 'voyage to the *aulas*', the perfect mastery of *birua*, memory and a marital relationship, side-by-side with elements related more closely to possession cults, such as 'the coming of the ancestors', the incarnation of *birua*, loss of memory of words and gestures and the crushing sensation experienced by Irubai. Hamayon (1982: 36) writes: 'When sources enable us to follow the acculturation of a shamanistic society, we observe an increase in incorporation procedures, to the detriment of the "voyage".'

Religious practices in Puyuma have been involved in a dynamic process of change for many years. First, the study of ritual in Puyuma, i.e. the division of ritual activities between men and women, and an analysis of myths and rites, have enabled me to put forward the theory that a shift has taken place from a hunting to a farming society. Next, the legend of Samguan, the effeminate man considered to be the first shaman, supported by the final song and by different words and ritual practices within the shaman community, support the theory that there was a change as the result of the crisis arising from the Japanese administration's prohibition of shamanistic practices. Samguan represents this double shift: from hunting to farming, and from male to female. We must not forget that Samguan was working in the fields when he was chosen by the '*birua* who loved him'. In Puyuma, it dishonours a man to take part in the work of the fields. Today, shamanistic practice is situated in a shamanism–possession cult continuum. It is undeniable that young Irubai is an important link in this process, and she is greatly respected as a shaman, not only by her colleagues, but by the community as a whole. 'Her *birua* are strong', they say. Might she not be the element that will enable practices still influenced by shamanism to incline permanently towards those derived from possession cults?

* * *

The election of a chief, Pinadai, in the eighteenth century, disturbed the structure of society. It seems that the status of this person was reinforced by the Japanese administration, which needed an intermediary, as we have suggested in Chapter 5. According to Hamayon (1990a: 278), 'Centralisation of

society implemented by the idea of a chief is a threshold that history has shown that a shaman cannot cross without ceasing to be himself.' We see immediately that there is a combination of several elements here, all imposed from outside: the importance of chiefdom, and through it the realisation of the state's existence, linked to the slow, unenthusiastic adoption of rice-growing.

It is through collective rituals, *maŋayaw*, *mu[a[iaban* and shamanistic rites that the Puyuma maintain their identity. It is true that the severed head is missing, but each rite is performed, each accessory is in place and it is thanks to this coherence that I was able to understand, among other things, the age-system and the progress of shamanistic practices.

8

MATERIAL CIVILISATION

General points

Until the arrival of the Japanese in 1895, women were in charge of the domestic world, brought up the children, gardened and gathered food. It seems that the Puyuma were not great farmers, as Imbault-Huart (1893: 253) writes: 'They [the savages] leave much land uncultivated.' Women stabilised the world inside the stockades. Men spent their time between the men's house and the mountain, but they slept regularly in their wives' houses, where they had to knock at the door before entering. Men guarded the frontiers, and their nomadic life ensured the stability of the world inside the village. Prohibition of hunting and war imposed by the colonial government destabilised the social balance. The women then farmed the land more intensively and the men, rendered inactive, where thrown into the feminine world of farming. Farming was certainly not a valorising task. Today, it is still the women who hire themselves out to the Taiwanese as farmhands. The herds of zebus once watched over by the children have disappeared.

The Puyuma belong to the mountain. They turn their backs to the sea, even though it is so close. This indifference to the sea may be explained, according to Mabuchi (1974: 184), by a total ignorance of the geographical area surrounding them:

> *none of these ethnic groups has primarily recognized Formosa as an island surrounded by the sea.* Except for a few ethnic groups along the sea-coast, they have no exact word indicating the sea. On the other hand, there are found some words for sand bank and mud heap in the river or lake which are sometimes used for rocks and tiny islets in the ocean. But the implicit sense of these words refers to something too small to be used for the island of Formosa, and in fact these words were not used for this extended concept. The fact that the main island of Formosa, merely with an area of about 36,000 square km^2 has not been recognized by the aborigines as an island would partially be due to the topographical situation with

> the steep Central Mountains including forty or so peaks of more than 10,000 feet above sea-level, which make cross-island traffic difficult.

The island of Taiwan used to possess a fauna that has totally disappeared today. In the thirteenth century, Ma Touan-lin (Chapter 327) described this fauna (translation by Hervey de Saint-Denys 1876–82: 421): 'In this country we find bears and wolves.' In the eighteenth century, Father de Mailla (1781: 28) described the animals he encountered: 'Apart from deer and monkeys which can be seen in herds, wild animals are very rare, and if there are bears, boar, wolves, tigers and leopards like in China, they are in the mountains in the Eastern part, and none are seen in the West. There are also very few birds to be seen. The most common are pheasants that hunters do not allow to multiply.' A few lines further on, he adds: 'they mostly eat rice, small grains, and game. They hunt the game on foot, or with their weapons. They run at an astonishing speed: I myself was surprised to see them running faster than galloping horses.'

Among the Paiwan, according to Taylor (1885–6: 194), 'The woods abound, with pheasants of the silver (Swinhoe) and common brown varieties, a bird which may be called a partridge (so closely does it resemble one), wild turkey, and pigeon. The animals principally hunted are deer, goat, and wild boar. The natives do not think birds worth shooting. Monkeys are allowed unharmed, the aborigines having a suspicion that there is some affinity between them and human beings, hence their name, *patsouoanes*, or "the moving people".'

The savages who 'occupy the deserted gorges and deep forests of the central mountains', described by Imbault-Huart (1893: 247),

> live principally from hunting the deer that abound in their forests. They are armed with spears or pikes, bows, arrows, and matchlock guns which they obtain from the Chinese in exchange for deerskins. Each man also carries by his side, in a sheath, a long, heavy knife, an essential companion, as useful for cutting up a deer or a pig, as for cutting off the head of a Chinese. Chinese pigtails are hung from their spearheads or from the sheaths of their knives. During their hunting expeditions, they camp at night around a fire, lying in a circle on bundles of grass. They use two or three kinds of trap to catch deer. Sometimes they catch bears, and sell their feet and gall-bladders to the Chinese, who prize the latter as a medicine. The rest of the bear is roasted whole.

Certain informants say that the Japanese authorities confiscated guns to avoid crimes against the occupants, while others say that guns were surrendered to the present authorities. In any case, four guns are placed at hunters'

disposal in the Nanwang police station, but a permit and cartridges must first be obtained.

Daily life

The Puyuma get up early: before dawn during the sowing and harvest seasons, but with the sun the rest of the time. Generally, the wife is the first to rise. She sweeps the courtyard several times a day. She feeds the poultry. She cooks the breakfast, a complete meal, consisting of rice and meat or fish, usually leaving the leftovers on the table for the next meal. The whole family has breakfast in the kitchen. The wife does the washing up. She feeds the numerous dogs, scraping the rice pan. Then she does the washing for the whole family. Puyuma are very clean and change clothes every day.

Between six and seven o'clock, while the wife is performing her duties, the husband receives visitors. In families where there are young women, it is they who do the chores while the parents chat to neighbours. No food or drink is served, but the betel basket is passed around. News is exchanged. In the homes of religious practitioners, it is the time for rituals in the ancestral cult house. Clients arrive with the sunrise. When the rite is finished, everyone sits outside in the courtyard.

Young farmers leave early for the fields, and in the season, they build a hut and stay there for several days. When the visitors have left, the farmer gets on his motorcycle and goes to the paddy fields. Meanwhile, the wife prepares lunch. Afternoon is siesta time. When everyone wakes up, rice is ground or husked. The wife sews, mends and lights the fire in the clay hearth in the courtyard. Even people whose houses have modern kitchens and bathrooms heat the bath water on this hearth. People remember that in the old days two stones were rubbed together to obtain a spark.

Baths are taken before supper, then visits begin again. People sit outside in the courtyard, or in the main room, but this time, rice alcohol or whisby[1] is drunk. The mistress of the house serves a few dishes (soup, chicken). On some evenings people watch TV, or sing in the courtyard; sometimes they go to Taitung. The evening is the most pleasant part of the day. Most people go to bed very late.

Culinary arts

Cookery

Cookery is the woman's preserve. Today, everyday dishes are no different from Chinese food. Imbault-Huart (1893: 248) mentions only very briefly the preparation of food: 'They make soup with water in which they have cooked potatoes, and with a sort of fern: the latter is very pleasant-tasting.' They no longer eat millet, but rice cooked in electric rice-cookers. The

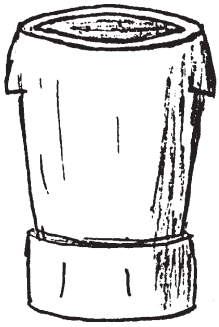


Figure 8.1 *Taʔur*

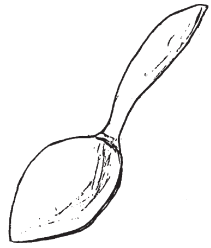


Figure 8.2 The spoon, *idus*

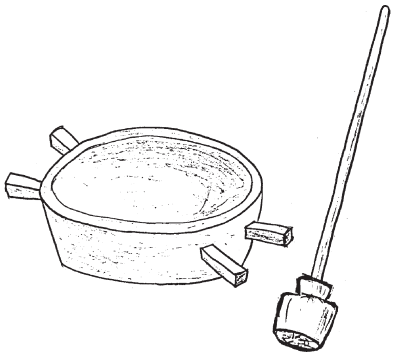


Figure 8.3 The big mortar, *dadekuɭan*, and the pestle, *parpar*

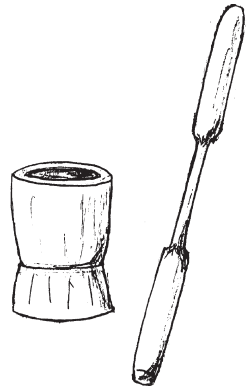


Figure 8.4 The mortar, *tabi*, and the pestle, *rasuk*

accompanying dishes are prepared in different ways: vegetables are boiled, *meʔaber*, as are meat, eggs and fish, though these are called *maderu*. All foods can be fried, *meʔrinrin*, certain meats are grilled, *ʈinapa*, or cooked directly over the fire, *kemeraŋ*.

Some sayings concern cookery: *adi mu akan ɖa bias*, 'You eat no hot dishes' (you are lazy), *penuar na idus*, 'the spoon will run away' (to be rude enough to eat rather than look after your visitors) and *penuar na tinalek*, 'the rice will run away', which seems to be a more recent adaptation.

In the absence of game, the Puyuma's favourite dish is field rat.[2] 'They eat the flesh half-raw, and if it is even very slightly cooked, they find it excellent', writes Father de Mailla (1781: 41). When a rat is brought home, the whole house gets busy. The hair is singed and scraped off, the animal is cleaned and cut up, while the woman prepares a wine-based sauce, *kisiu*.[3]

Sticky rice was formerly husked by several men who pounded in rhythm with the pestle *parpar* in a big, shallow mortar, *dadekuɬan*, carved from a hollowed-out trunk of *Bischhofia javanica*. For steaming, the *ta?ur* is used, normally carved from the trunk of *Erythrina variagata.* Today, rice is husked and ground into flour in an electric grinder. Only millet used for ritual purposes is husked by hand in the mortar, *tabi*, with the pestle, *rasuk*. There is also a small mortar about 15 cm in diameter, *paţinapanan*, to grind peanuts used in sticky rice cake recipes. For winnowing, two baskets are used, *takaḍ* and *siaki*.

Formerly, the Puyuma ate squatting, and food was served on dishes made of woven rattan, and eaten with the fingers and a wooden spoon. Drinks were served in little glasses made from bamboo. This is still the case for meals served during rituals. Since the 1950s, the Puyuma have eaten at table, using chopsticks. 'They are very dirty eaters, they have neither dishes, nor plates, nor bowls, nor forks, nor chopsticks. The food prepared for their meals is simply placed on a wooden board or a mat, and they use their fingers to eat, rather like monkeys', writes Father de Mailla (1781: 41). At the end of the nineteenth century, Imbault-Huart (1893: 248) confirms: 'The savages' food is very simple: it consists mostly of rice and the flesh of animals killed in the hunt, such as boar or deer, often only half-cooked. Food is placed on a wooden tray around which the whole family sits in a circle: no forks or even the sticks which the Chinese use in their stead; the savages eat with their fingers and rarely use their knives except for cutting up large pieces.'

Drinks

In 1765, Chu Shih-chiai notes: 'The savages of the remote regions make wine by pounding rice into flour. The savage women chew rice and leave it on the ground all night so that it may become a distillation agent. The next day, the chewed flour is mixed with rice to ferment it. Water is added. The liquid thus obtained is whitish and called "minute wine", it has a sour taste.' The first part of Campbell (1903: 11) is made up of selections from the *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien* of François Valentyn (1726):

> The people in this south-western part of Formosa have neither wines nor other spirituous liquors extracted from the trunks of trees as in other parts of India; but they have an exceedingly strong and deliciously flavoured beverage of their own, which has the same effect as Spanish and Rhine wine in intoxicating a person. The women prepare this beverage in the following manner: They take a quantity of rice, which, after simmering for some time, is kneaded into a dough. They then chew rice flour and spit it into a pot or jar until 2 pints of liquid is obtained. This is mixed with the dough just mentioned, in order to be used as leaven, after it has become as fine as

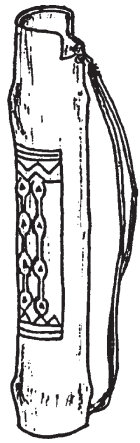


Figure 8.5 ʃawas

> the baker's dough of which we bake our bread. The dough having been thus prepared, is afterwards put into a large jar, water is poured over it, and it is allowed to stand for about two months, fermenting like new cider in a cask. By the end of which time it becomes a beautiful, strong, and delicious beverage.

The Japanese Sumie (1930: 20–1) visited the Puyuma in 1930. He also describes the process of fermenting beer by chewing rice. Today, rice is still fermented to make beer,[4] the whitish liquid that Chu Shih-chiai speaks of, but only for important occasions. Unfortunately, cheap industrial rice alcohol is available.

Stimulants, tobacco and betel

The Puyuma smoke very little, since betel and tobacco are incompatible. Some old women smoke pipes, since they have lost their teeth, making it difficult to chew betel. Until the Taiwanese government monopolised tobacco-growing, the village grew its own tobacco. According to Kasashima (1932) tobacco was imported in 1578 from Mexico to Luzon by Padras Gomez. It was then introduced into Fukien province in China.

The island of Taiwan is at north-eastern limit of betel use. All Puyuma chew betel, starting at the age of 15. Very young children chew areca nuts to imitate their elders. A little girl aged two could not yet talk, but one evening said her first word: *puran*, 'betel'. The word *puran* includes the tree, the nut and also the nut wrapped in a betel leaf and coated with lime. Old people, who have lost their teeth after long years of chewing, grind the nut, the leaf

and the lime in a small copper mortar. Endlessly, they chew, spit into the mortar, grind, chew again and so forth.

The areca palm fruits from August to April. From May onwards, nuts from the previous harvest, carefully dried in the sun, are chewed, since the latest nuts are much too hard. The first small nuts, still folded in the upper spathe, are called *buaʔaw* (< *bua*: fruit). The whole, i.e. the spathe and the nuts, is known as *talaʔita*. Nuts cannot be used for rites or chewed until the shamans have performed the *meʔitaʔita* rite at the end of July. They present the fresh nuts to the *birua*, and put some on the altar in their sanctuary. Gardens and courtyards are planted with areca palms, which, in the evening, stand out against the moonlit sky. Even families who no longer have a garden plant trees along the edge of the road. The father of the doyenne of the shamans planted areca palms when he moved to Nanwang in 1929, and the trees gave a good yield of nuts every year. When the *Tabeleŋan* took back the land, they cut them down, and the shaman fell ill.

Wooden and bamboo utensils

Bamboo and wicker utensils are becoming increasingly rare, since the villagers have no time left for braiding them. The big winnowing-basket, *takaɖ*, has to be braided from creeping bamboo, *lapelap*, on account of the distance between its internodes. Baskets are woven from ordinary bamboo: for example, the fish basket, *karifiʃ*; the basket for storing husked rice, *punun*; or for taking sticky rice cakes out to the fields, *patabuan*; the basket carried on the back, *paɖekan*; baskets used with the yoke, *saina*; the fertiliser basket, *rariʔapan*; the winnowing basket, *siaki*. However, dishes of different sizes, *kadapar*, used for traditional meals, are made from wicker.

There are two basket-making techniques. The first resembles weaving, and baskets are called woven baskets. In the second, the foundation of the basket consists of a spiral coil, the turns of the spiral being sewn together; these baskets are spoken of as coiled or sewn. There are also several finishing

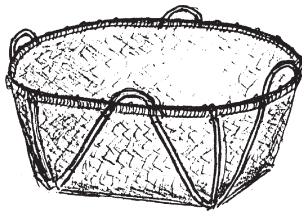


Figure 8.6 Punun

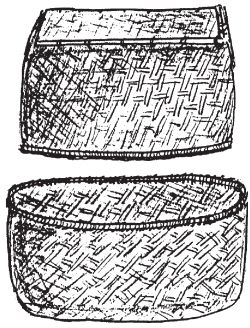


Figure 8.7 Patabuan

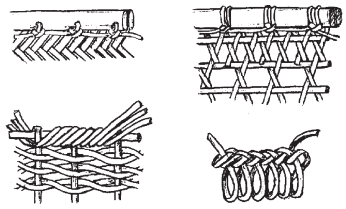


Figure 8.8 Basketwork finishes

techniques, either woven or tied, according to whether the baskets are used for storage or transport.

The Puyuma use the calabash gourd, *atuŋa* (*Lagenaria vulgaris*), to keep water cool, but when cut in half lengthways it is used as a ladle for scooping water, *tatabek*. Before Pinadai introduced the bucket in the eighteenth century, water was carried in bamboos, *ʃawas*, decorated with red and black geometric designs.

Means of subsistance

Hunting

Each men's house owns a hunting ground. Mabuchi (1974: 180) writes: 'Hunting territory is rather minutely divided into portions with proper names, though this is not comparable in minuteness to the division of arable land as mentioned above.' This used to be a society of hunters. The first observers mentioned rice and game: 'It [food] consists of rice, wheat, game which they kill in the hunt or catch alive, since they can run as fast as the lightest dog, and grab animals', writes Klaproth (1824: 341). Taboos surrounding this activity were numerous. Men only hunted in groups, and any decision to go on an expedition was made in each of the men's houses. All aspects of hunting are important, as can be seen in the song, *patintin*,[5] sung during the 'rite of the deer': the game (a deer), preparations, working in a group, 'those who are commanded', i.e. the dogs, the sharing out of the game. The Puyuma are proud to say that formerly, when they were hunters, their society was a communal one, where everything belonged to everyone. The game brought back was eaten by all the men from the men's house, and shared among their households.[6] If an isolated hunter[7] ventured into the mountain, he had to remain humble, and not keep all the game for himself. If he killed an animal on a hunting ground other than that of his men's house, he had to share with this men's house. He announced his return to the village by yelling, the villagers came running and everyone who came had to have a share. The first to arrive got the right forefoot – the best piece, offered to the priest during the 'rite of the deer'. If a woman chanced to come running, she

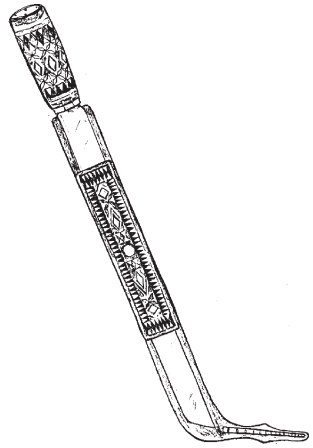


Figure 8.9 The big knife, *taḍaw*

got this piece, whether she arrived first or not. This sharing out of the game cancelled the damage done by a dishonourable hunt.

Today, the Puyuma still go to the mountain, but mostly for night-time poaching of rats, rabbits and flying squirrels. Imbault-Huart speaks of chasing and 'grabbing the animal'. Perhaps this was a way of considering the game as a partner. The Puyuma mention the flushing out of game by fire, especially boar and deer.

Omens

Before leaving, the bamboo diviner would consult the bamboo splinters to designate the hunter[8] – usually an elderly man – who, at dawn on the day of the hunt, would go and listen to the omens of the *mananagan* (a small bird with a long beak) and *sirut* birds at the edge of the village. If the bird's song comes from the left, it is a bad omen, and the hunters do not leave the village; if it comes from the right, the men take their game bags. But if, on the way, the bird sings again, wherever the song comes from, the men turn back.

This is how the hunters imitate good omens:

- *sii-ri-ririwai*: the hunt will be good
- *hi-hi-hi*: poor hunting
- *piti-piti-piti*: no comment.

This is how they recognise bad omens:

- *ti-ti-ti*: the bird is crying, it is a very bad omen, a man will be mortally wounded

- *ʔuisiu-ʔiusiu-ʔiusiu*: the game bags will remain empty
- *si-si-si*: the game will be wounded but will escape
- *ti*: a hunter will get lost or will be very seriously wounded.

If, in the mountains, the *sirut* bird sings, *sirut sirut*, if it shows its head, the hunt will be good, but if it shows its tail, the bag will stay empty. If a crow caws, a guest will be waiting for the man on his return.

kema ayamʔan, 'bird words'

The Bird,[9] the famous Bird.
Where is it?
The *sepusepue*.
Let us listen to it first, in the north.
Here is the great wind, *maḷipusan*, blowing from the north.
Let us go along the river winding through the mountain,
Let us climb the chain of mountains,
Let us walk to reach the slopes.
But where are we?
In Marabinaw, in Manabineb?
Only the clouds scud through the blue.
Where is the path, the pass, the glade to cross
In this chain of mountains?
Let us look at the horizon.
But, what is this line
That looks like eyebrows?
The path?
Our vision becomes blurred.
Look again!
How can we reach
This placed so feared by enemies
That their eyes refuse to see it.
Our village!
A dense forest of bamboos
Thickly carpeted with vegetation.
Strewn with bamboo worms and manure.
Where the boar drink.

Taboos

Most taboos have been listed in the chapter dealing with 'birth'. Hunting equipment was stored in the men's house, and never crossed the threshold of the family home where the wife lived. Several days before a departure, all the men had to sleep in the men's house so as to avoid sexual intercourse;

even contact with women's clothing meant that a man would inevitably be wounded. Women are strangers to the world of hunting; men say that animals are not familiar with their smell, and that they would quickly be spotted if women came with them. The Puyuma do not speak of impurity, but rather of a world that belongs to them, that of hunting.

The hunter who killed a tiger or a black bear had to return immediately and undergo a purification rite, and the same applied to snakes – this taboo applied anywhere, since the snake is linked to an ancestor, the sister. If, by mischance, hunters broke these taboos, they were subjected to the same constraints as head-hunters, and had to wait in a little hut at the village entrance until the *benabulu* had performed all the purification rites. Wine was prohibited in the mountains, since it took away the ground where the men had made their camp.

Hunting language and weapons

Preparations for hunting are organised in the greatest secret. Animals possess a keen sense of smell and sharp hearing. On the way to the mountain, everyone walks in silence and animals' names are not pronounced, as otherwise 'they would flee', as they say. One may talk of the boar's head, *suregirgi – sureburebut*,[10] or its tusks, *wali*, or of the deer's antlers, *subalulan – sulanlanan*, but naming the animal would be an offence. Animals do not know how to decode metaphors.

The boar's *tinabawan* is situated in its head. Its tusks or a deer's antlers are trophies used to decorate the walls of houses. The monkey killed by the boys in the *takuban* is called a 'friend'. Lot-Falck (1953: 115) writes that 'to a sacred activity corresponds a sacred language, forbidden to the layman'.

The knife[11] is at the same time the most useful tool and weapon in daily use. It has a straight blade and a handle about 15 centimetres long. No knives have guards. The total length varies from 30 to 40 centimetres, and the blade is about 4 centimetres wide. The sheath never covers the whole blade. The handle and the sheath are decorated, to a greater or lesser extent, in red, black and yellow, and sometimes encrusted with mother of pearl.

The Puyuma made two different kinds of spears. The first was for killing human beings, and belongs to the tang-headed type, with either a nail-shaped point or a leaf-shaped point. The second was for hunting animals. The shaft was inserted into the socket of the forepart, and this latter was barbed headed. These were fearsome weapons in the hands of the Puyuma. Klaproth (1824: 341) gives us an idea: 'Their ordinary weapon is a javelin that they throw with much skill and dexterity over a distance of 60 to 80 paces. They also have bows and arrows with which they can catch a pheasant in flight as easily as with a hunting rifle.'

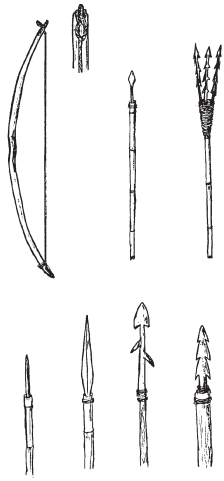


Figure 8.10 Bows, arrows and spears

They also made bows from a single piece of wood or bamboo, with a round lower end and an indented upper end. The string was always made of ramie thread. The upper end of the string had two figure-of-eight loops. When the bow was not in use, the upper loop was put over the projection on the indented end. There were also different arrows. The stem was made of bamboo or wood, never feathered, and the shafts were, on average, 70 centimetres long, with a 10 centimetre tip; they were sometimes forked. They were kept in a leather quiver.

Fishing

The Puyuma live a few kilometres from the sea, but they live with their backs turned to it, preferring the mountain and its game-filled forests. However, they do fish in the rivers, especially in mountain streams. 'They have a natural aversion for the sea: that is why they only fish in rivers and streams', wrote Klaproth (1824: 342). This activity is not heavy with connotations of virility and bravura in the same way as hunting.

In rivers, they use traps, *buʔbu.* The men attach the *karifif* basket to their belts and fill them with fish and crustaceans. But, in the past ten years, young men have started to sail on big Taiwanese cargo boats. They go to sea for several months, and some of them have married girls from Singapore, Malaysia or elsewhere. They sing *ki-a-kuraw*, take-fish:

> We sail from Keelung to Kaohsiung.
> On board, there are only men.

Figure 8.11 Landscape (drawn by Asin, aged 11)

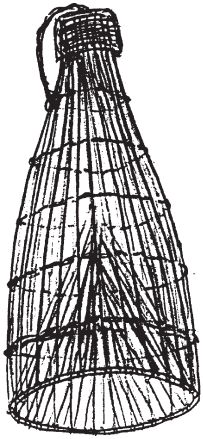


Figure 8.12 The trap, *buʔbu*

Figure 8.13 Kariʃiʃ

We work without respite, without sleep.
Night and day are the same,
Our hands and feet help each other,
And we forget to sleep.
The young bride implores us,
Not to go aboard.
The sea provides our living,
We will never be short.
No roads, no mountains,
Only the sun and the moon
To guide and give rhythm to time.

Gathering and farming

Gathering

This is a feminine activity and provides a considerable amount of food. Women are well aware of the medicinal and food values of all the plants growing alongside the paths. Among edible plants, they pick: *puɭuṭ* (*Bidens bipinnata*), used to make refreshing drinks; *aliulu* (unidentified) whose ground and macerated leaves provide a tonic; *alulaŋ* (*Celtis sinensis*), which is eaten puréed (*alulaŋ* wood must not be used to make a fire in the hearth, or the skin will turn green after death); *batikul*, an edible chrysanthemum eaten in soup; and various sorts of mushrooms. All the herbs going into the wine recipe, *kisiu*, are also picked.

To cure minor, everyday ailments, the women pick: *alipai* (*Elaeagnus oldhamii*) for rheumatism; *amelet* (*Caromona retusa*), good for haemorrhoids; *aɭumu* (*Blumea balsamifera*), a disinfectant used for women after childbirth, and which soothes itching; *aŋʃifian* (*Ageratum conzoïdes*), a disinfectant for cuts; *arab* (*Solanum*), a disinfectant for serious wounds; *kerakeraban* (plantain), used against fever; the boiled leaves of *layaḍ* (*Sambucus formosana*, var. arborescens), used for washing the newly delivered mother, with its toasted leaves relieving rheumatism; *liḍiliḍiŋa*, a plant of the *Labiatae* family, and *palepelepeʔan* (*Cassia obtusifolia*), which relieve period pains; and *tuɭiab* (*Curcuma aromatica*), which is known to help with heart failure.

Farming

Slash-and-burn agriculture has been little practised for the last century, but Ma Touan-lin (Hervey de Saint-Denys's translation, 1876–82: 421) mentions it: 'The soil is fertile and rich. Those who cultivate it start by burning the weeds, and then water the fields, bringing water from rivers and streams.' Chen Chi-lu (1968: 23) reports that in 1956 he observed land clearance by burning. Today, different crops are grown in order to implement government plans. Plants are grown for commercialisation rather than for personal consumption. Although we still find today more or less the same crops as those listed by Ma Touan-lin (1322: 421) – 'Cereals grown are rice, and different sorts of millet. Other crops are hemp, green vegetables, red and black beans, etc.' – they do not have the same importance. Taylor (1885–6: 196) writes: 'As a race, the Tipuns are agricultural, hunting and fishing holding a second place.' Ern Martin (1882: 432) tells us that 'the latter is mountain rice. Since paddy fields do not exist in Formosa, it is likely that the species grown in the mountains was imported fairly recently by the Chinese; we know that this rice, known as imperial rice, was propagated by Cang-hi.' According to Mabuchi (1974: 51), 'The Ami and Puyuma of the coastal plains in eastern Formosa subsist primarily by the cultivation of

irrigated rice, which they adopted from the Chinese in the late nineteenth century.' The Puyuma therefore probably adopted rice growing at the turn of the twentieth century.

CEREALS

The Puyuma tell two legends regarding the origin of grain. The first has two variants: either the grain was stolen from the inhabitants of Butul – Orchid island – or it comes from the Amis neighbours.

The first version in which the grain was stolen from Butul is told by Karagar of the *Sapayan* household:

> These ancestors came here, perhaps arriving from the south, but we do not really know where from. They had climbed into a boat, *taleb* (we don't know what a *taleb* is). This couple left, and arrived in Butul. The man's name was Adenaw, and the woman's Aderesaw, or so I have heard. The couple said, 'We are going to go home. When we leave, we will take some grain. Otherwise, what will we eat where we are going, unless we bring grain or some other food.' So, they asked the Butul for grain, millet. The Butul are extremely stingy, and they refused to give them any. When they were about to leave, the Butul searched their bags, everything was searched. The grain was confiscated, so we hear. Then, they thought about what they should do. The woman stuffed the millet into her vagina, as the story goes. But, when she urinated, the grain was ejected. Then the man unsheathed his penis, and put the grain in there. They were searched. They were thoroughly searched, but in vain. The grain had been stolen. Then they got into their boat, this *taleb.* They looked north, where they saw something resembling an overturned pot. 'Let us go that way', they said, and set off. They moored. They were in Maidang (Mount Turan), which looks like an overturned pot. The man took a handful of earth, and throwing it to the winds, made the mountains, as the story goes. The woman took a handful of earth, threw it to the winds, and made the plains. It was on these plains that the stolen millet was planted. These are the things I have heard'.

The second version is told by Gulum of the *Pikel* household: 'About this millet: the elder Demasalaw went to Butul. He fell in love with Taiban and they got married. This millet that we took from Butul came here to Taiwan with this elder, Demasalaw. When he came back here, Demasalaw said: "Taiban, I'm going home, and when I go, I will remember." "Yes", replied Taiban.' Gulum's version, although greatly abridged, introduces Demasalaw and Taiban, both found in the general genealogy of the Puyuma (see Figure 6.2).

A version in which the grain comes from the Amis is told by Koalim of the Mabalio household:

> The Papians' millet, as my mother told me, was as big as dogs' breasts. Their first millet was planted here on the western side, said my mother. We went to borrow it from the Papian. That was the story my mother told me. My mother says it is not true, grain does not come from Butul. It was the old man from the Raera who went to take it. This is my mother's version, which is the truest one, since she heard it in the men's house.

The Amis tell the story of the origin of grain among the Puyuma:

> Come, said a whale to a Puyuma. He went, and the whale carried this Puyuma. The whale gave this Puyuma five grains of millet. When he returned, he sowed the millet. Once they were sown, all the grains grew. Then, there was plenty of millet, it was a whale who first gave it to them. Then the Puyuma, when their time for rites had come, went to the sea to perform them. The tide was high, and took their offerings, they offered these sacrifices to the whale.
>
> (Bareigts 1976: 183)

VARIETIES OF MILLET AND RICE

Millet, *dawa*, is a plant that requires a lot of care. The space between the rows must be exactly the width of the hoe, *gawgaw*, and while this task is being performed it is forbidden to chew betel, or to speak, lest the harvest be carried away by the little birds. During the harvest, it is forbidden to give fire to one's neighbours, or to go into a field, and otherwise a piece of clothing must be left on the plot of land for fear of carrying away the *birua* of the grain. Formerly, the Puyuma grew several varieties of millet, which they can only name: *kuḍis, liaguḍeŋ* (short millet) *asirusiru*,[12] *timbu* (black variety).

Today, irrigated rice, *ļumai*, is the main cereal crop. *Dekeţan*[13] is the generic term for sticky rice (*binetuan, dawa, saļinunu*); *binetuan*[14] is the most highly prized variety. It is harvested like millet, stem by stem, and gathered

Table 8.1 Varieties of millet and rice

	puʔur, ordinary rice	*ḍekeţan, sticky rice*
Dry rice growing	*inlu*, winter variety *guruan*, summer variety	*dawa*, millet (*Setaria italica*) *binetuan*
Irrigated rice growing	*uraimai* *liaba*	*uraimai* *saļinunu*

into a small bunch. *Sa[inunu* has a round grain, the outside is red and the inside very white; its stem is as tall as a man and bends easily. *Pu'ur* is the generic term for ordinary rice. There are also other varieties such as *guruan*, which is no longer grown since it is always overrun with weeds, and *inlu*, a winter variety that looks like *uraimai*, only slightly larger, according to informants, and that is no longer grown either. *Liaba* is a poor quality rice. The *uraimai* variety is the everyday one, used both as ordinary rice and as sticky rice.

Rice growing in the paddy field is *[umai*; *asal* is harvested but not threshed; *pu'ur* is unhusked, uncooked rice; *beras*[15] is husked but not cooked; *tinalek* is a plateful of cooked rice.

No feast is complete without sticky rice cakes steamed over the clay hearth. There are various different varieties, including *anku*, a flat cake with red beans in it. The recipe is simple: water and red colouring are added to the sticky rice flour, then the cake is steamed. The *binaberas* cake is simply whole, steamed rice. It is rolled into balls and eaten with the fingers, or sometimes a wooden spoon. *Dinukur* is made from the *binaberas* cake, the cooked rice is ground or pounded in a mortar until it becomes stringy, then it is toasted. It is dried in the sun until it becomes hard, and keeps indefinitely. *Manjdio*[16] is a big ball of ground rice, to which water is added, it is steamed and stuffed with red beans, then rolled in sugar. The *pinaksaŋ* sandwich is wrapped in banana or bamboo leaves, and is made from steamed whole rice to which all kinds of savoury ingredients are added, e.g. meat, peanuts. This sandwich is eaten mainly at the 'double five' festival, or on the return from the mountain. For the *tikue* cake, the sticky rice is ground, then mixed with water and sugar or salt, and the dough is steamed on the hearth for many hours. The result is an elastic dough that hardens with time. It can be eaten as it is, or toasted. This is a cake made for the lunar new year, or given to a traveller or soldier. For the cake cooked in a bamboo, *inalidi*, sticky rice is husked, steamed and ground with peanuts, then stuffed into bamboo tubes. But rice can also be simply dipped in honey.

THE *MU[A[IABAN*, 'TO GO TO THE SEASIDE', RITE

With the exception of the version told by Koalim, a woman originating from Katipul, all these legends possess a common thread, the grain coming from beyond the sea. For the Amis, the whale carried a Puyuma and gave him five grains of millet; for the Puyuma, the couple or the man Demasalaw came back from Butul with the grain.

Every year in July, the village performs the ceremony of 'going to the seaside', *mu[a[iaban*. The men's houses of the lower moiety go to the beach and feed Demasalaw, alias Aderemaw, the ancestor who brought back the gain from Butul, and those of the upper moiety go to Kemiḍaeni, situated at the foot of the mountain-ancestor, to accomplish the rite of 'feeding Takio' (see Chapter 7).

mu[a[iaban song

We are happy
It is time for *mu[a[iaban*.
Let us go to *Kemiɖaenai*
To feed the ancestor
Let us look in front, look behind,
It is our ancestor.
We are happy,
It is time for *mu[a[iaban.*
We are going to *Kamiɖaenai*
To feed him with our harvest.
Let us look in front, look behind,
It is our ancestor.
We have arrived at the ancestral cult house.
The women welcome us
We meet at the school.[17]
Let us sing and dance!
It is time for *mu[a[iaban*!
Let us go!

After returning from the sea or the river, the women, who do not take part in the rite, welcome the men. The day ends with singing, dancing and all sorts of competitions.

WOMEN'S FESTIVAL, *MUAGAMUT*

Only men take part in the harvest ritual, *mu[a[iaban*, and only women celebrate *muagamut*.[18] Up to 1997, it was celebrated on 8 March, 'Women's Day', but formerly and since 1997, this festival has taken place just after hoeing the millet.

On the first day, all the shamans purify the village, for which they receive a symbolic fee. The ritual takes place in the men's house, which avoids having to go to the four gates of the village. The women make an offering to the 'masters of the hunt, of the ground, of the road and of the village gates, those "who make the village", the protectors from fire'. They also place offerings to those who have died an unfortunate death. In the afternoon, they go to the place called *Tarababuʔan*, situated at the gate of the upper moiety, to fetch betel root, which must come from a hunting ground; it is impossible to use a cultivated root. This root is placed at this gate and the shamans perform a purification ritual.

On the second day the festival proper takes place. Dressed in their best clothes, the women gather in the men's house,[19] then run in single file to fetch the betel root, while striking a bell to drive away restless *birua*. They

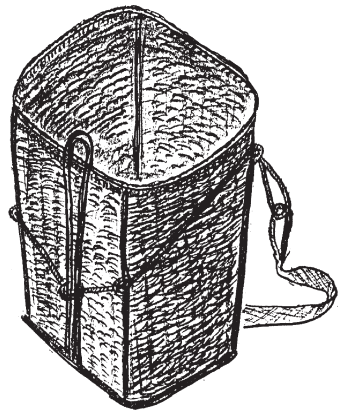


Figure 8.14 Basket carried on the back, *paḍekan*

run through the streets of the village holding the root, like a long snake, and striking their bells. They enter the courtyard of the mayor's house. When their tour is over, they organise games and races. In the evening they sing the ritual song of this festival. This song cannot be heard on any other day:

This year,
Those whose hair is separated,
Those who wear the *tubil*
Have ceaselessly moved.
Their chief, the authority,
Gather
These women.
The men,
With their hair worn like a gutter,
Climb the mountain slopes.
They bring back the betel root
And put it
Where the women
Come to fetch it.

The next morning, all the women gather again and cut the betel root into equal lengths. Each woman leaves with her little bundle.

OTHER PLANTS

Sugar cane, maize, yams, peanuts and ramie are also grown. The orchards on the Peinan mountain provide varied and plentiful fruit. We find those

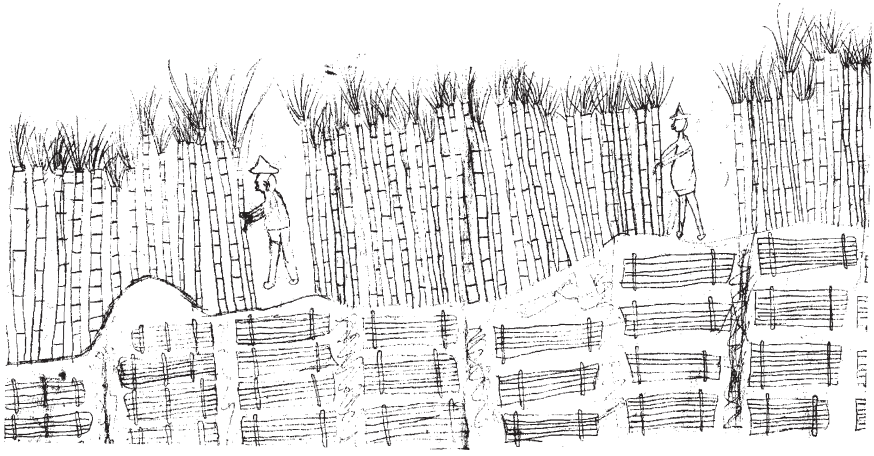


Figure 8.15 Sugar cane field (drawn by Asin, aged 11)

listed by Father de Mailla (1781: 26): 'The land bears abundant wheat, rice, &c. Most of the fruits of the Indies are also found, oranges, bananas, pineapples, guavas, papayas, coconuts, &c. The land would also bear our European fruit trees if we planted them there.' In gardens vegetables are grown: taro, whose stems are eaten in soup,[20] sweet potatoes, ginger, squashes (pumpkins, calabashes, bitter squash), garlic and chillies, which the Puyuma love. There are all sorts of beans: *balatuŋ*, a very long green bean; *buʔaw*, *Cajanus cajan*; *duŋaduŋaran*, *Phaseolus lunatus*; *imgemami*,[21] a short green bean; *kanadun*, *Abrus precatorius*; *karidaŋ*, *Phaseolus acutifolius*; *niwas*, green beans; *tausai*; *ʔtuk*, which looks like *kubai*; *kubai*, *Dolichos lablab*, with the varieties *miadaraŋ na kubai* (red bean), *buarenan na kubai* (white bean), *miaraʔat na kubai* (blue-green); *kudawnan*, a variety of *Phaseolus lunatus*, smaller than *duŋaduŋaran*.

Fields are divided into several categories: *ʔsan*, irrigated paddy field; *uma*, fields in general; *maruʔaruŋ*, dry rice field; *nirabian*, dry rice field cultivated after burning (for millet); *taʔtadan*, terraced paddy field.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

Irrigated paddy fields are cultivated with the aid of a buffalo, a harrow and a plough with a metal mould board. Before the plough, rice was planted using digging sticks, *risem* and *awar*. The agricultural tools used for breaking up the soil are: the hoe, *ʈapelu*; the pointed, hollow hoe, *sakutkut*; the toothed hoe, *pitaw*; the solid bladed hoe, *kuasue*. A large and a small pick, *suan*, are used for working in mountain fields. The wooden or bamboo rake, *kakuri*, is used to air the rice while it is drying in the sun. The weeding

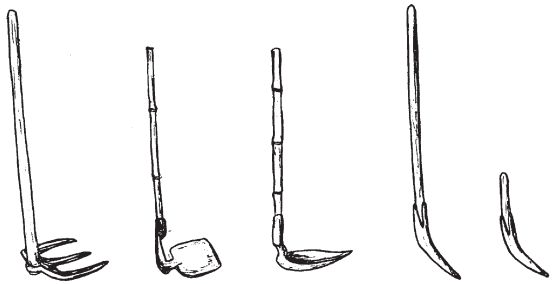


Figure 8.16 *Pitaw*, *kuasue*, *sakutkut*, *risem*, *awar*

hoe, *gawgaw*, is used to measure the space between rows. Farmers go to the fields by bicycle or motor cycle, but when they have to transport plants, they use an ox cart. The ox's yoke is made from an enormous bamboo, which is heated so it can be shaped to fit the animal's neck.

Although the Puyuma have borrowed techniques from the Chinese, including the use of chemical fertilisers, they remain strongly attached to agrarian rites. A newly cleared field, or simply planting, requires the services of a *benabulu* or a shaman. The religious practitioner always starts by cleansing the land by reciting the 'separation' prayer, *penelin*, in the four corners of the field, then he places areca nuts that will take up impurities and will be disposed of far from the field. In a newly cleared field, the shaman makes a snake and a bird with the aid of areca nuts.

The aborigines appear to have changed their methods of husbandry over the years. Ma Touan-lin (Hervey de Saint-Denys 1876–82: 421) informs us: 'There are pigs and chickens in abundance, but we see neither oxen, not sheep, nor donkeys, nor horses.' Father de Mailla (1781: 27) remarks: 'As the country has only been inhabited so far by a barbarous people, with no police, horses, sheep & goats are very rare, and even the pig, so common in China, is quite dear: but hens, ducks, domestic geese are very numerous:

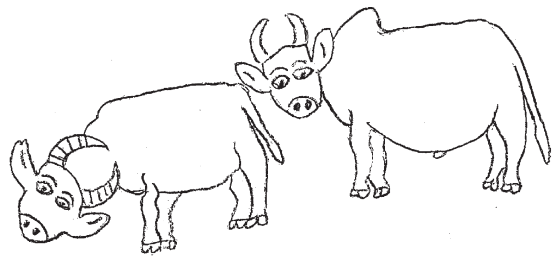


Figure 8.17 Water buffalo, *siugu*, and zebu, *kitaŋ* (drawn by Asin, aged 11)

there is also a quantity of oxen; they are used as mounts in the absence of horses, mules and donkeys.' Today, hens and pigs are rare. The Puyuma used to breed many cattle, including *siugu*, water buffalo;[22] *makaiʾuŋ*, a zebu with horns pointing forwards; *karayasai*, like the *makaiʾuŋ*; *kitaŋ*, zebu with drooping ears and a huge penis, which are intelligent but very lazy ('as soon as it sees a slope, it stops', say the Puyuma); *makatunu*, a small ox that does not grow big but is very plucky, according to the Puyuma.

Handicrafts

Weaving

The term *tenun* can be found almost wherever weaving exists in Indonesia, and as far afield as Madagascar, according to Pelras (1972: 92). The loom used by the Puyuma is of the 'eastern type' according to this author's typography. It is simply supported at one end by a wooden upright, and tension is maintained by a leather back-strap, on which the weaver braces her back.

Weaving had already been noted by Imbault-Huart (1893: 252): 'Each person builds his own house and weaves the cloth necessary to made his own clothes, since there are no craftsmen.' There are now only four weavers in the village. The weaving is only done by the women, though the men make the pieces of the loom employed by them. Men are strictly forbidden to touch it, risking getting lost, wounded or even killed during a hunting expedition. A death in the village stops all weaving until the purification ceremony for the dead person's house. The pregnancy of a weaver or a death in her household stops weaving for a year.

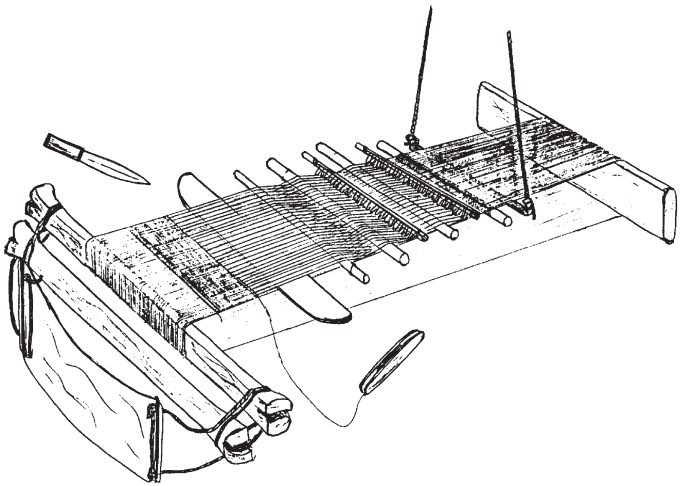


Figure 8.18 Weaving loom

A legend recounts that two sisters, Piaku and Kudayaw, heard the *tekuer* bird singing: '*kerio, kerio, tenun, tenun, ʈaʈa, ʈaʈa, tiɭiʈidan, tiɭiʈidan*', 'ramie, ramie, weaving, weaving, sword, sword, heddle, heddle'. So the two sisters set about weaving and the first to finish her work cried '*pia*[23] *ku la*', 'I have finished', and her sister cried '*tu kudayaw*', 'now it is done!' The two sisters, Piaku and Kudayaw, are the muses of weaving.

The loom is a back-tension type with continuous circulating warp. It has: a rear-beam around which the warp circulates and which, being suspended, provides support for the whole loom; a shed-stick, which maintains a permanently open shed between odd and even warp threads; a leash, whose loops take all the odd threads, pulled upwards by a heddle; a sword, used as weft-beater; a front-beam around which the woven cloth circulates, and to which a back-tension yoke is attached by tension-strings.

Dyes are obtained from plants such as the wild tomato, *kanabiden*, for red, the *iteŋ* plant (unidentified) for black, *Curcuma aromatica* for yellow and Polygonum for green. Brown was obtained from *Dioscorea rhiponoides*. MacGovern (1922: 179) mentions this plant:

> The textile that is woven on this loom is made from a sort of native hemp, which grows in the mountains. The only colouring matter obtainable for dyeing the hemp is the juice of a tuber also indigeneous to the mountains. This tuber somewhat resembles a very large and rather corrugated potato. The dye obtained from this tuber is of chocolate colour. It is the custom to weave the textile in stripes, uncoloured and dyed strands alternating.

Today, cotton threads are used for the warp, but for the weft, synthetic threads are often used. Woollen threads are often used for coloured motifs, making the finished work very thick.

Clothes

'Their only clothing is a simple piece of cloth, with which they cover themselves from the waist to the knees, & would you believe that pride is so deeply rooted in man's heart that it can find the means of feeding on & being maintained by such nudity? Could you believe that that it costs them more than the most civilised peoples & that they pride themselves on even greater luxury and magnificence?' writes Father de Mailla (1781: 41). Klaproth's (1824: 342) description is much more succinct: 'The south Formosans are naked apart from a light belt tied around their waists, which does not reach their knees.' Imbault-Huart (1893: 246) provides an identical description:

> The men's clothing consists only of a very primitive langooty, that is to say a piece of material tied round the waist. Apart from this

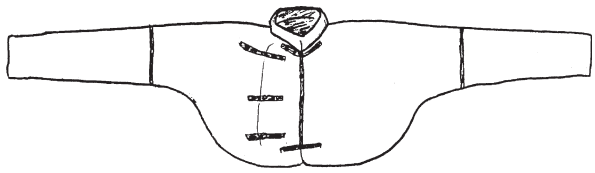


Figure 8.19 Man's and woman's bodice, *kipiŋ*

> indispensable langooty, some savages wear a piece of clothing identical to that of the Pepohouan. The chiefs and their families are distinguished by a square piece of material worn on the chest, decorated with coloured embroideries made from threads of foreign materials, and sometimes gold discs, or tassels, or copper buttons. Chiefs often also wear two or three embroidered sleeveless garments, and, in addition, a wide square of material over their shoulders like the Pepo.

Informants confirm that elderly men still wear the *bubtan* skirt, but without underpants. The Puyuma dress in western style, but on feast days they wear their traditional clothes.

Woven costumes are preferred to embroidered ones, but since there are few weavers, these garments are very expensive. From the age of twelve onwards, girls do embroidery. This art is not exclusively reserved for women; men embroidered their leggings and certain 'virile-warriors' embroidered a skirt for their bride. Embroidery is done in cross-stitch. Bright colours predominate, all shades of red, white and blue.

Women's clothes

'The women are dressed in very short petticoats and sleeveless jackets like those of the men, and embroidered in the same way. They also have a kind of gaiters covering their calves. The women do not wear hats, and their hair, divided by a parting in the middle, is plaited and coiled behind their heads', according to Imbault-Huart (1893: 246), who had also noticed the 'gaiters', *katiŋ*, two rectangles of embroidered black cloth tied with four straps around the calves.

We also note the *bagelup*, a little apron worn against the stomach, generally black, sometimes white. There is a small embroidered pocket in front. The *bagelup* is worn by girls and young women, whereas elderly women wear the *sugun*. They also wear the *tubil*, a short black underskirt decorated with a simple small square of embroidery at the bottom left, over which they wear the *labit*, an open skirt crossed on the left to show the embroidery of the *tubil*. The bodice, *kipiŋ*, is usually bright blue, sometimes white. This

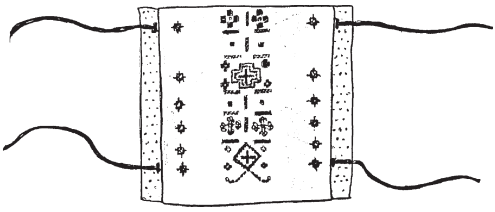


Figure 8.20 Women's *katiŋ*

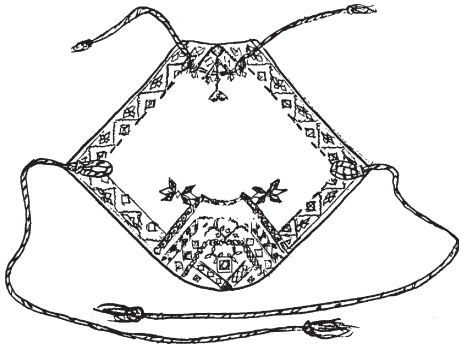


Figure 8.21 Bagelup

garment, fastened on the left side, with raglan sleeves, is very tight and stops just above the waist, with embroidery round the collar and cuffs. The term means 'garment' in general. The long belt, *pareʈ*, about two metres long, is green, and embroidered at both ends. The *pareʈ* is passed around the waist twice and tied on the left side, with the embroidered ends falling to mid-thigh.

Elderly women wear a gathered apron tied at the waist with a pink belt about five centimetres wide, the *sugun*. The *puaɭima*, an embroidered black square, covers the wrist and is tied to the hand, by slipping the middle finger into a woollen ring.

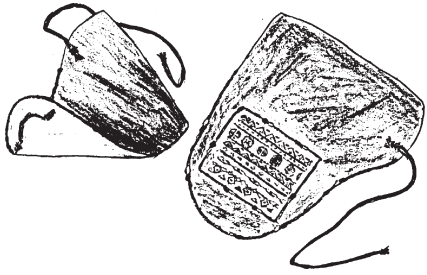


Figure 8.22 Puaɭima

Men's clothes

Men's clothes characterise the age-set to which they belong. A man's appearance changes with the years (see Chapter 6).

Hairstyles

The Puyumas' haircuts are very characteristic. The men cut a fringe in front, and cut their hair to shoulder length, giving it an upward turn, reminiscent of a gutter. In songs, men are designated by their *maitintin* haircut, and the name for a gutter comes from the men's hairstyle. The women are also designated, in songs, by their haircuts: *sinugayan*, *tinubilan*, in which we find *suga*, which means hair separated by a parting, and *tubil*, the skirt mentioned above. The crown of flowers is part of the traditional costume.

Habitat

Puyuma houses are low, placed at ground level, except for the boys' houses, which are on pillars. Father de Mailla describes very sober huts: 'Those of the south are just a collection of earth & bamboo huts roofed in straw, raised on a sort of platform 3 or 4 feet high, built in the shape of an overturned funnel of 15. 20. 30 to 40 feet in diameter: some are divided by partitions. In these huts they have neither chairs, nor benches, nor tables, nor beds, nor any furniture whatsoever.' In 1824, Klaproth gives the same description: 'They [the inhabitants] in the southern part only have wood and earth huts, where there are no chairs, tables, nor any kind of furniture.'

Figure 8.23 House from the beginning of the century (drawn by Asin, aged 11)

Imbault-Huart (1893: 247) writes: 'The savages' huts are simply constructed: the posts are fixed vertically in the ground; longer posts are placed sloping from the top down to the ground. A roof tree unites the two vertical posts, and to the sloping ones are attached large bamboos or rattan, covered with long dry grasses. The entrance to the hut is sometimes so low that one must crawl in. There is only one room inside.'

Building

Puyuma houses have changed very rapidly since the beginning of the twentieth century. Only bamboo was used for walls, and no permanent building materials were used. Building is a male skill. The materials, plentiful in the region (wood, bamboo and elephant grass), are gathered by the men. Posts cut from the tree *Zelkova formosana* are driven 30 centimetres into the ground. The two axial posts support the ridgepole. The walls are entirely made of bamboo, avoiding the use of edible bamboo that easily becomes worm-infested. The lower part of the stem is split and the two parts are dovetailed into each other to make a wall set on the ground, leaving the posts exposed inside the dwelling. For improved thermal insulation, elephant grass is applied to the inner side, held in place by small notches cut in the upper part of the bamboo stem. The disadvantage of this material is that it is very inflammable, and thus the two walls adjacent to the hearth are left uncovered. Stability against typhoons is ensured by bamboo flying buttresses on the five posts of the uphill and downhill gables. The floor is of packed dirt. The double-pitched roof is covered with elephant grass, held in place by logs. All the bindings are made of rattan. The houses, rectangular in shape (5.5 × 4 metres), are single-roomed and unpartitioned. The façades are oriented in an uphill-downhill axis, and light penetrates through the main doorway cut into the middle of the front façade, facing the sunrise; the back door allows access to the granary. There are no other openings. The gable situated on the uphill side, of symbolic value to the Puyuma, shelters the bunk where all the family members sleep, surrounded by their piled-up clothes, with their heads facing uphill. The dead are buried in the house at the foot of the gable on the downhill side. Small, essential cooking utensils are hung on the walls near the hearth, and the most cumbersome, such as the mortar and the bamboo rods for transporting water, are kept on a raised platform located outside to the left of the main entrance, while wood is stored to the right. The smoke escapes through the cracks in the walls. The women and children eat their meals squatting, the plates laid on the ground. Water is fetched by the women in long bamboo tubes. For the women, bathing takes place indoors, while the men wash in the streams. The gardens planted on the outskirts of the village serve as toilets. The granary, forbidden to women during menstruation, leans against the back of the building, but is sometimes located in the north-west corner of the house, and separated by a simple bamboo partition.

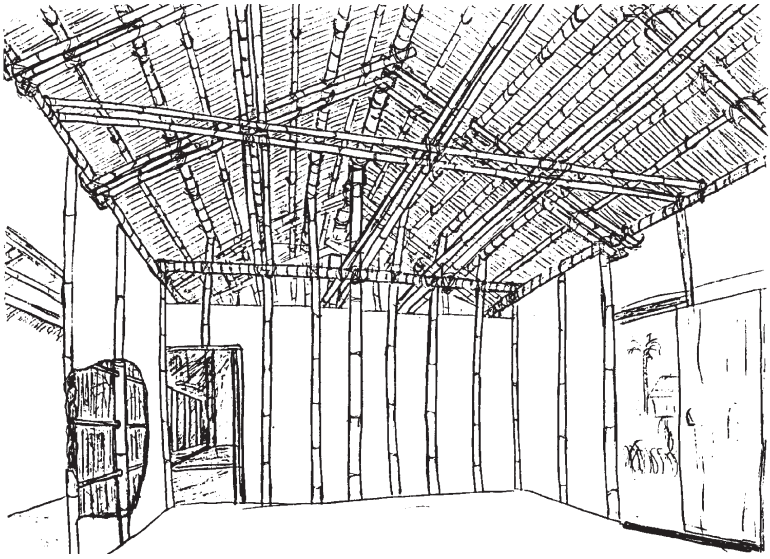


Figure 8.24 Interior of a house

Since the Japanese occupation, walls have been made of daub, over a wattle of woven bamboo. According to the Puyuma, these dwellings keep cool. The interior is divided by two large wattle and daub partitions, which do not reach roof level, but stop at the height of the outside walls, making four small rooms in the four corners. There are a few pieces of furniture and objects in the central room. Two benches are placed against the partitions, and an ancestral altar occupies the wall opposite the door. This object and the seats arrived with the Chinese in the 1950s. The kitchen in these houses is an adjoining room containing a gas stove, a table, a sideboard, a fridge and a large water jar, since the water is frequently cut off. The government is trying to modernise kitchens, and a 10,000 yuan subsidy per family was handed out in the 1970s, to install a sink and mosquito netting over the windows. Another 50,000 yuan subsidy was allocated to build bathrooms, with water heaters and lavatories. But many villagers continue to heat water in the clay hearth, since gas is expensive, whereas wood is cheap. In any case, a clay hearth is never abandoned, as everyone knows the proverb *ubeliŋan na ļikeḍan*, 'the hearth is rotting' (symbol of laziness). The courtyards are overrun with flowers, which are necessary for crowns and offerings to the ancestors, especially the scented ylang-ylang. It is in the courtyard that visitors are received in the morning and evening. The women sweep the courtyard several times a day, and a well kept courtyard is the proof that one has many friends. Otherwise *pidarumanaŋ ḍa babaļu*, 'the courtyard is mouldy', i.e. there are few friends coming to visit.

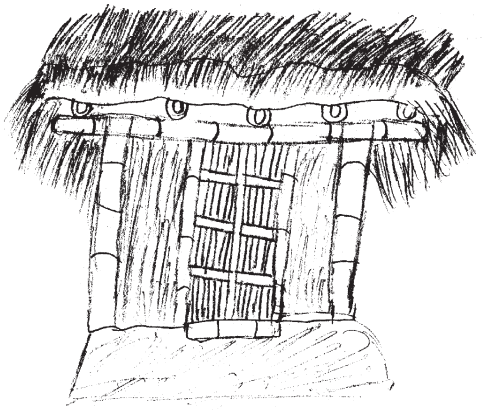


Figure 8.25 A bamboo house (drawn by Asin, aged 11)

In the past 15 years, concrete has replaced wattle and daub. Two different methods are used: either the old house is kept with its framework, but the wattle and daub are replaced by concrete, or the old house is completely abandoned and a new, concrete house is built just next to it. In recent years, houses have started resembling cubes. The construction consists of one storey and a terrace or corrugated iron roof. The inner partitions are in very thin plywood. A garage door closes the place. Building a house, or adding an extra room, is surrounded by a succession of rituals.

Rites

Before the Puyuma move into a newly built house, the shaman 'cleanses' the materials, then the owner asks the bamboo diviner to select an auspicious date for the banquet.

The 'cleansing' of the house takes place as soon as the bamboo diviner designates the auspicious date for the rite. The shamans purify the materials that have been used for building by scratching, cutting or tearing a small piece of each, representing the materials in their entirety; these are carefully wrapped and placed with the areca nuts outside the village. When the builder went to the mountain to cut the bamboos, he probably heard, without paying attention to them, the songs of birds of evil omen. The shaman thus says: 'I begin my cleansing by using the name (via the areca nuts) of the dog, to whom we give orders (when hunting); of the cat, who guards the millet store; of the snake; of man. If you have been buried here, under this new house, then I cleanse the corners. I drive away restless *birua*, and rubbish. I bring them together, I rotate the sickle. For this journey, I guide it outside.'

9

THE ABORIGINES IN TAIWAN TODAY

We should remember that the Japanese applied the same expressions as the Imperial Manchu Ch'ing court, i.e. 'cooked' and 'raw' barbarians, even though the official term adopted by the government to designate them was 'peoples of Takasago'. Chiang Kai-shek's Chinese government, which was set up in the island in 1949, used the term 'Hanism',[1] and the aborigines' official name became *shanti t'ungpao*, abridged to *shanpao*, 'compatriots from the mountains', but they were more often known as *shanti jen*, 'mountain people', or *kao shan tsu*, 'high mountain tribes', and more commonly *huan*, 'savages'. To show their difference, the Chinese called themselves *p'ingti t'ungpao*, 'compatriots from the plains'. The present government's policy was, until the beginning of the 1990s, 'great Hanism', meaning the complete Sinisation of all the minority groups in the country. The government, the Taiwanese and the Chinese all thought that Sinisation was 'good for the aborigines'.

Administration before the 1996 elections

Until 1996, in the provincial government, there was a department of civil administration under which were several divisions. The one in charge of the mountain region administration was named *shanti k'e*. It took care of aboriginal affairs through the county governments. Of the 16 counties in Taiwan, 12 have aboriginal inhabitants. In these counties, in addition to the usual sections common to other county governements, there is a section for aboriginal administration, called *shan ti shih*. The district (*hsiang*) is the governing unit in the mountains. There were 30 mountain districts in the whole province. Under the district head, an aborigine who was elected by the people, there was a government-appointed secretary, who was in fact in charge of the administration. The village (*ts'un*) is the smallest administrative unit in the district; it may consist of a single hamlet or two or three. It had and still has an elected native head, and an appointed assistant from the government to take care of administration. At the village and district levels, the mountain people also had assemblies to voice their opinions. They did

and still do elect representatives to the county council according to the proportion of their population. And the whole mountain region elects one assemblyman to the provincial assembly. These composed the superstructure that was added to the aboriginal society, and patterned after plains administration. In every village, there was and still is a police station, usually staffed by two or three policemen.

This practice of 'governing barbarians by barbarians' had been used in China since the Han dynasty (200 BC to AD 200), and the results observed were almost always the same. The local chief, who enjoyed a few privileges granted by the Imperial Court, became Sinised. In the 1950s, in Puyuma, the mayor, a native, without any outside instructions, managed to destroy the structure of his own society by getting rid of one of the boys' houses, thus abandoning the dual structure fundamental to it.

Material aspect

The avowed government policy was *shanti p'ingtihua*, 'Plainisation of the aborigines', which in fact meant that the mountain dwellers had to adopt the lifestyle of the people of the plains, i.e. the Chinese. To achieve this end, the government formed a 'Committee for the improvement of the life in the mountain regions', which took charge of improving housing, clothing and hygiene. A sum of 50,000 yuan per household was allocated to provide a bathroom with bathtub, washbasin and hot-water tank. Twenty thousand yuan were also provided to install a toilet with a septic tank, and 15,000 for a kitchen with a sink and mosquito netting on the doors and windows. Government officials inspected each house, and organised competitions between villages and districts. Village chiefs were held responsible for hygiene in their area.

Development of tourism

According to the authorities, tourism should help the economic development of aboriginal communities. A television channel broadcasts programmes of aboriginal songs and dances. Tourism is an industry among the Atayal and the Yami, and visitors arrive by charter flights. The same is true for the Saisiat, where the great biennial festival, the *pasta'ai*, is orchestrated by the authorities, with commercial stalls, spotlights and television cameras, despite the displeasure shown by both the spirits and the villagers. The Formosan Aboriginal Culture Village is a private venture set up by rich businessmen who realised that these aborigines were, sooner or later, doomed to extinction. They bought a mountain in the Nantou district (western central area of the island), near the well known tourist site of the Lake of the Sun and the Moon, where they have set up a theme park in which each of the nine groups is represented. A few typical houses – of very fine architecture – illustrate the

habitat, and every morning groups of aborigines are brought in by lorry from their dormitories, having previously received their instructions for the day. Their life is regulated by time clocks.

Schooling

All children go to school, where lessons are given in Mandarin Chinese. For 40 years, aborigine children were forbidden to speak their mother tongue at school, and the curriculum contained no teaching of these languages. Nevertheless, the government claims to have implemented an effective schooling programme, with 50,000 aborigines graduating from high school in 1994 compared to 19 during the Japanese period.

In 1904, the Japanese administration built the 'Puyuma school' in Peinan, but in 1923 it became the 'Peinan state school', and in 1931 had 474 graduates. Monographs of the Taitung prefecture provide statistics concerning the number of pupils graduating between 1946 and 1959 (Table 9.1).

Today, Nanwang has a primary school and a secondary school. In 1984, there were 171 pupils at the primary school. The proportion of Puyuma children dropped from 94 to 74 per cent in ten years. Only one teacher was a Puyuma, from the village of Pinaski. In 1985 the secondary school had 1,130 pupils. The headmaster provided the figures given in Table 9.2 concerning Puyuma children.

The only aboriginal teacher was a young woman from the Amis group, who taught PE. But the headmistress of the primary school, as of 1997, has a Taiwanese father and a Puyuma mother, and is interested in her mother's language and culture. In 1984, 28 children started at the secondary school. The government then decided to give aboriginal children a bonus to help them reach the sixth form. The average mark required for sixth form entry

Table 9.1 Number of pupils graduating between 1946 and 1959 at the Peinan state school

1946	*1947*	*1948*	*1949*	*1950*	*1952*	*1953*	*1955*	*1956*	*1957*	*1958*	*1959*
52	58	52	54	44	20	20	28	20	31	25	27

Table 9.2 Puyuma pupils at the Nanwang secondary school

	First year (12–13 years)	*Second year (13–14 years)*	*Third year (14–15 years)*	*Total*
Boys	19	4	20	43
Girls	17	19	17	53
Total	36	23	37	96

is 40/100 for aborigines, but 60/100 for Chinese. It is similar for university entrance, with aborigines receiving a 25 per cent bonus. 'It's normal, since the IQ of Puyuma children is lower than that of Chinese children', states the headmaster of the Nanwang secondary school. Children from ethnic minorities receive a free education in agricultural colleges and 'are excellent in sporting disciplines', emphasizes that headmaster.

In 1990, the government admitted that, in their age category, 55 per cent of children went to primary school, 20 per cent to middle school, 10 per cent to high school and technical or vocational training colleges (one-third of the average number of Taiwanese at this level) and 2 per cent to university (one-fifth of the average number of Taiwanese). State schools in remote villages were short of teaching materials, and there was a high staff turnover due to poor living conditions.

Consequences of 'plainisation or Hanism'

Rural exodus is considerable. Although in 1980 there were only 30,000 aborigines living in big cities, today there are about 100,000, half of whom live in the capital. The government announced a figure of 6,000 aborigines working as civil servants, with other, less well qualified, emigrants having to make do with menial jobs. In the village there are mainly elderly people and the young children who are entrusted to them by their parents working in the cities: about 270,000 persons out of a total population of 370,000. For this population, the death rate is apparently two or even three times higher than that of the Taiwanese. Alcoholism and suicide are the two main causes of death. According to Rin Hsien (1957: 7), in the Amis village of Nanshi in Hualien district, the daily consumption of rice alcohol per family was 2.5 litres, a figure ten times higher than that of Taiwanese in the same district. Rin cites the case of a woman aged 45 who drank as much as three litres of cheap rice alcohol per day.[2] Philip Liu (1992: 28) writes: 'The death rate of the aboriginal population today is two or three times higher than the average for the island's population as a whole, mostly due to a lack of modern hospital facilities, a lack of basic hygiene, and alcoholism.'

There is another problem in these villages, and that is the abandonment of the traditional habitat. After the arrival of the continental Chinese in 1949, the Taiwanese settled in great numbers in the aboriginal villages of the eastern plains, i.e. Amis, Rukai, Puyuma and Paiwan. These peoples have never been traders; the Taiwanese opened shops of all kinds, selling consumer goods, and it was at that time that the aborigines sold their farmland at low prices to obtain these products. In the 1980s, the process speeded up, since they exchanged the land on which their houses were built for apartment blocks. Yet it was in their courtyards that the villagers spent their evenings singing, telling legendary stories and dreaming of the past, that they kept their poultry, grew the flowers essential for rituals and the areca

palms whose nuts are part of any offering to the *birua*, and that, with betel leaves, are chewed from morning to night. Let us consider the case of a family who gave their land, with a house already on it, to a Taiwanese family. Concrete blocks of six or eight apartments, divided between the two families, were built. The Taiwanese and aborigine families each occupied a block, and the others were shared equally. This practice was at its height in the 1990s, and the last Japanese-built houses disappeared. Corinthian columns and Greek pediments have sprung up.

Persistence of tradition

The government's policy of 'plainisation' lumped all aborigines together in the same cultural mould. Until 1994, the bathrooms fell into ruins, since the aborigines continued to heat their water in the clay hearth and pour it out with a calabash. The kitchens remained in pristine condition, since housewives still used the standpipe in the courtyard where they could chat to their neighbours, and which was so much more convenient for washing vegetables in a squatting position.

Birth of an ethnic identity

The association for Taiwanese aborigine rights is known as *Taiwan yuanchumin ch'uanli ts'uchinhui*.[3] The authorities thought that the improvement of daily life by material goods would have the effect of gradually 'Hanising' the aborigines. It is true that motorcycles, video recorders, televisions etc. have brought them into the modern world. The 'Hanism' of the younger generation took place through their schooling. These 'newly Sinised' young people, deprived of their ancestral lands, and no longer understanding the language of their grandparents, agreed to become part of the Chinese world in order to survive. But the destruction of their cultural references led a group of young intellectuals to create in 1984 the Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines (ATA). They can be seen, with their community, taking over the streets of the capital, or arriving in Parliament, dressed in traditional costumes, to demand recognition of their rights.

From the beginning of the 1950s onwards, the new regime, the Kuomintang, imposed martial law. This was lifted in 1987, but replaced by the national security law, which maintained restrictions in the mountain areas inhabited by the aborigines. Any opposition was considered to be a war crime. In 1983, a handful of aborigine students from the capital distributed on the campus of Taipei university a small pamphlet entitled *Kaoshan ch'ing*, 'The green mountains', which was widely read. Other journals followed, the best known of which is *Liejen wenhua*, *The Hunters' Culture*, which published not only ethnographic articles, concerning the acculturation process, but also information about all the aboriginal activities of the island.

The *Yuan bao*, *Aborigine Journal*, analysed and criticised articles appearing in the Taiwanese press concerning the aborigines. The ATA published the most controversial articles in its own journal, *Yuanchumin*, *The Aborigine*. All these journals were published in Chinese in order to reach a wider public.

In 1984, the first cry of 'Call us aborigines', *yuanchumin*, launched by 35 activists, shook the political establishment. They refused to accept the official designation of 'Compatriots from the mountains', *shanti t'ungpao*. These young aborigines wanted to recover their ethnic name and identity. Since the beginning of the 1950s, every aborigine had been given a Chinese patronym; for example, Aliwaki's birth-name became Li. Only this name, which elderly people still refuse to memorise, features on their identity cards. As part of this claim to identity, they demanded recognition of all the island's ethnic groups. The government proposed a list of nine populations, whereas the ATA named eleven. The Taroko needed to be separated from the Atayal and the Thao considered as a population, even though there are only 248 individuals today. In their fight for recognition of their identity, they singled out the discrimination inherent in the law of the 'Standards for the identification of the mountain tribes of the Province of Taiwan':

- Taiwanese husband, aborigine wife: the wife loses her identity; the children are Taiwanese
- Aborigine husband, Taiwanese wife: the wife remains Taiwanese; the children are aborigines, but may become Taiwanese if their parents wish.

In August 1988 and September 1989, the slogan 'Give us back our land!' was added to the first. The activists laid claim to ownership rights to their lands, which had been placed under government administration. These young people refused, suddenly, to disappear like the Austronesian populations of the west coast. The demonstrators called upon the Ministers of the Interior, Defence, Energy and Education, and the Forestry Commission, all of whom were responsible for the division of land. In the 1950s, 190,000 hectares were reserved for the 140,000 aborigines existing at the time. There are 370,000 of them today. The best sites were transformed into four 'national parks'. On 25 March 1993, 25 Yami demonstrated in front of the Palace of Justice in Taipei against a projected national park on their little island. To make certain parks, villages were moved; for example, Meishan in Taoyuan prefecture, where Yushan park was created. The Bunun cemetery of Tongbu in Nantou district was moved to make way for the construction of a reservoir, and that of the Puyuma in Nanwang has become a golf course. Exploitation of the forests, filled with precious species, was given to the Forestry Commission. As for the Ministry of Defence, it appropriated plots of land in the name of national security. It was thus that the aborigines lost any rights to their ancestral lands.

Then, demands became more varied, to include the teaching of aboriginal languages in village schools, the correction of school textbooks mentioning the aborigines only as 'head-hunters', the storage of nuclear waste and, finally, child prostitution. On 2 April 1988, two hundred people demonstrated in Taipei against the storage of nuclear waste on the island of Botel Tobago (also called Orchid Island), a small island of 42 km^2 situated 65 km south-east of Taiwan, and inhabited by 4,335 Yami. In 1978, the government announced the construction of a military harbour that would solve some of the island's unemployment problems, but the discovery of a storage area for 550,000 barrels unleashed the anger of this normally peaceful fishing community. It must be added that the concrete container was dug on the very spot where the first Yami ancestor set foot on the island, and that its seepage waters are discharged into the sea where the Yami fish by traditional methods.

The ATA estimates that aborigine prostitutes represent 40 per cent of the profession, and 60 per cent of them have barely reached puberty. A certain number of these girls, aged from nine to eighteen, according to the ATA, were 'bought'[4] from their parents as soon as they had finished primary school, ostensibly to work for rich individuals. In reality, they were reduced to sexual slavery in brothels, which are legal in Taiwan as long as they are declared. In January 1987, and again in 1988, some of these young girls marched alongside their aborigine sisters to demand the end of child prostitution, which, on the contrary, is prohibited. From 1987 to 1990, the Taipei Women's Help Association contacted 400 teenage prostitutes, 20 per cent of whom were of aboriginal origin, because of rescue by local police.

In 1991, the ATA went international, and announced, during a press conference, that it would take part in the ninth session of the working group in Geneva, led by the UN's Human Rights Commission, responsible for drawing up the Universal Declaration of Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It was thus that the United Nations received, among other native populations, the aborigines of Taiwan. In the same year, the ATA, accompanied by the Aborigine Committee of the Presbyterian Church of Taiwan, went back to Geneva. Members of the organisation held several meetings with the press, and met members of the Asian Indigenous Peoples' Pact (AIPP) and the Pacific-Asia Council of Indigenous Peoples (PACIP).

Policies implemented since the beginning of the 1990s

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the government has embarked on a process of democratisation, and the aborigines, through their different movements, are taking part in this process. After years of struggle, the battle cry launched in 1984 has become reality. During the thirty-third plenary meeting of the fourth extraordinary session of the National Assembly, held in July 1994, the members of the Assembly decided to replace the name *shanti t'ungpao*,

'compatriots from the mountains', by that of *yuanchumin*, 'aborigine, native'. Aborigines also won the right to take back their ethnic names and write them on their identity cards. This is a personal procedure that few aborigines have undertaken to date. This decision led to additional clauses being added to the Constitution of the Republic.

In June 1990, the ATA demanded the setting up of a Council of Aboriginal Affairs directly attached to the Executive Council, i.e. on the same level as a ministry, similar to the Committee for Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs. Five hundred people demonstrated in front of this committee and demanded its dissolution, for there are fewer than a thousand Mongolians and Tibetans living in Taiwan, whereas there are 370,000 aborigines. In 1997, the Council of Aboriginal Affairs, directly attached to the Executive Yuan, was created. In 1995, seven aborigines were elected to the National Assembly and seven others to the Legislative Yuan. Six have been posted to Provincial Assemblies, and each town has one or several aborigine town councillors.

Regarding the identity of mixed couples, a slight change has appeared since 1992. In the first case, when an aborigine woman marries a Taiwanese man, she has the choice of remaining an aborigine or becoming Taiwanese. A Taiwanese child adopted by an aborigine used to become an aborigine, but nowadays he or she remains Taiwanese.

The teaching of aboriginal languages is now part of the school curriculum. In 1990, certain districts taught Paiwan and Rukai. In the same year, the primary and secondary schools in Wulai, in Taipei district, where the majority of pupils are Atayal, proposed extracurricular lessons to teach them their native language. Teaching was of poor quality, and based on oral knowledge. For this reason, in 1992, the government of Taipei district asked the cultural centre and the commission in charge of education of this district to publish textbooks in Amis and Atayal, and to train teachers. There are now 56 for the Amis language alone. The Ministry of Education gave orders to schools to free school hours that could be used for teaching aboriginal languages, and ordered the collection and publication of teaching materials. In the primary school in Nanwang, the headmistress, who took office in 1997, is of mixed parentage, but speaks Puyuma, teaches it to her pupils and organises competitions in this language.

In the context of a three-year plan, for the 1989–91 budget, the government allocated US$18.8 million to help the development of aboriginal economies, especially farming, husbandry, trout farming and commercial fish farming at high altitudes. An identical sum was added to draw up genealogical tables and encourage activities linked to folklore. In 1992, the Ministry of the Interior launched the 'Aid Plan for Aboriginal Town-dwellers'. This plan, which lasted for six years, with a budget of US$8 million, was intended to promote aboriginal culture, educate teenagers, help immigrants to settle in towns and deal with health problems. The plan also provided loans to help to set up small businesses.

Until the Dutch left in 1661, contacts between foreigners and aborigines were only sporadic. The arrival of Koxinga in 1661 was the first crisis, and led to many conflicts, but the annexation of the island in 1885 by the Ch'ing Manchu court started the process of change, with a massive influx of Han Chinese from the continent, who took control of the island's natural resources. Japanese colonisation certainly disturbed the structure of aborigine societies by prohibiting their customs, but due to a lack of Japanese settlement in the villages and the use of force, the Austronesians adopted only a few fragments of Japanese culture, and we may surmise that these populations would have found most of their values again if this wave of colonisation had not been followed by another, far more devastating one, that of the Chinese. Elderly people, although they grew up during the Japanese period, still speak their own language, whereas the younger generation, which has grown up since settlement by the continental Chinese in 1950, is totally ignorant of it.

Lack of land drove young people out of their native villages, and they became labourers or civil servants, while parents waited for money from their exiled offspring over a bottle of cheap rice alcohol. In certain villages, there remained only a few farming families; those who possessed only one plot of land preferred to sell it and put the money in the bank, which 'works for me, whereas before it was I who worked for money', as one of them says. According to 1991 statistics, the annual income of a mountain aborigine was 38 per cent of the average income per inhabitant (US$8,000), and that of a plains aborigine was 40 per cent of the same sum.

'Hanism' was a process of total absorption. Chinese society does not admit the Other, who is by definition a 'raw' barbarian. It can only recognise him if he is identical, so the barbarian must be 'cooked'. Taiwan is one of the economic dragons of south-east Asia and on this account enjoys great prosperity; the aborigines take part in this development. The new generation is even an important participant in it. Ethnic minorities in Taiwan are not excluded like those in the United States or Australia. The Taiwanese will let them share their wealth, by 'raising them up' to the standard of living of their own society; but the price will be their cultural extinction. Will new laws be able to preserve these populations who are aware of being Others?

John Lagerwey[5] writes: 'traditions continue to recognise us even when we no longer recognise them. But they must be reconstructed, since the habits of thinking and acting that we call "tradition" will continue, even when they are destroyed, to determine our behaviour until they are reconstructed, i.e. re-appropriated for our time.' The Chinese have understood that it is not sufficient to destroy traditions, since one day or another they can be reconstructed, but efforts must be made to have new ones adopted so that the Other may appropriate them.

APPENDIX 1

MYTH OF THE ORIGIN OF THE PEOPLE OF KATIPUL

Long ago, there was a flood; five brothers and sisters took refuge in a mortar. They were in total darkness, they were hungry; they arrived at Rëvoaqan, and were saved; Tavatar, a girl, Paroaqh, a boy, a third boy, Sokasokao, and two other brothers and sisters who were thrown up into the sky and became the sun and the moon. They walked down the paths in search of other human beings, but found nobody, and came back to Rëvoaqan. Tavatar and Paroaqh had sexual intercourse. Tavatar gave birth to three aquatic animals: a crab, a fish and a king prawn. She asked the sun, which advised her to put them back into the water. Then, she gave birth to a bird, and the sun advised her to release it at the edge of the village. 'We are brother and sister, and we should not get married', they told the sun. Then the sun advised her to make a hole in the animal skin they used as a mat, and they did so. She became pregnant, and gave birth to stones of different colours: red, yellow, green, white and black. When the black stone burst, out came, first of all T'inaqi, then Pudhëk, who are the ancestors of the aborigines of Taiwan. Out of the white stone came the ancestors of the Chinese and the Japanese, and from the red, yellow and green stones came the westerners. We do not know whether T'inaqi was a man or a woman, but this person gave birth to a being with eyes on its knees, which in its turn gave birth to a being with two faces, who gave birth to a girl, Lëpang, and a boy, Lungi. They got married and had a boy, Latok, who married his sister, Anai. These two went to live in Turil and they are the ancestors of the Amis. The other brother, Rapieqh, married the other sister, Panai, and they went to live in Turil-West and are the ancestors of the Bunun. Pudhëk – we do not know if it was a man or a woman – had four girls and three boys: a girl, Arongatai, three boys, Vajajong, Padongao and Raqoraqoi, a girl, Kalikali, a boy, Vatëngajan, and a girl, Dhanapan.

Arongatai and Vajajong stayed in Rëvoaqan and gave birth to a boy, Tata, a girl, Revirvi, and another boy, Hilamai, who became the guardian of animals. Tata and Revirvi got married and their grandson was Sixasixao.

Padongao, Raqoraqoi and Kalikali went and founded Puyuma. Kalikali married a certain Longadh and gave birth to Diangrao (toothed vagina).

Vatengajan and Dhanapan went to Taromak or Kindhopur, and they are the ancestors of the Rukai.

Tavatar married another brother, Sokasokao, and they went to Kavarongan, they are the ancestors of the Paiwan.

Sixasixao and Diangro got married and had three children: Vasakayan, Roasajao and Rarixin. Vasakayan and Roasajao killed their ancestor.

O sister moon
Δ brother sun
Δ Sokasokao went to Kavarongan (Mount Tawu), ancestor of the Paiwan
O Tavatar fish, put back in the sea
Δ Paroaqh crab, put back in the sea
king prawn, put back in the sea
bird, set free
stone eggs red, ancestors of Westerners
yellow, ancestors of Westerners
green, ancestors of Westerners
white, ancestors of Chinese and Japanese
black, ancestors of aborigines: Tinaqi and Pudhëk
Δ O T'inaqi gave birth to a being with 'eyes on his knees', who gave birth to a 'two-headed' being, who gave birth to:

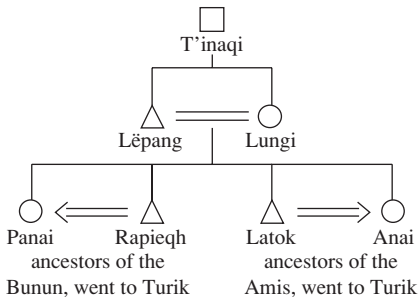


Figure A1.1 The descendants of T'inaqi

Summary of the text collected by Schröder and translated by Quack (1981).

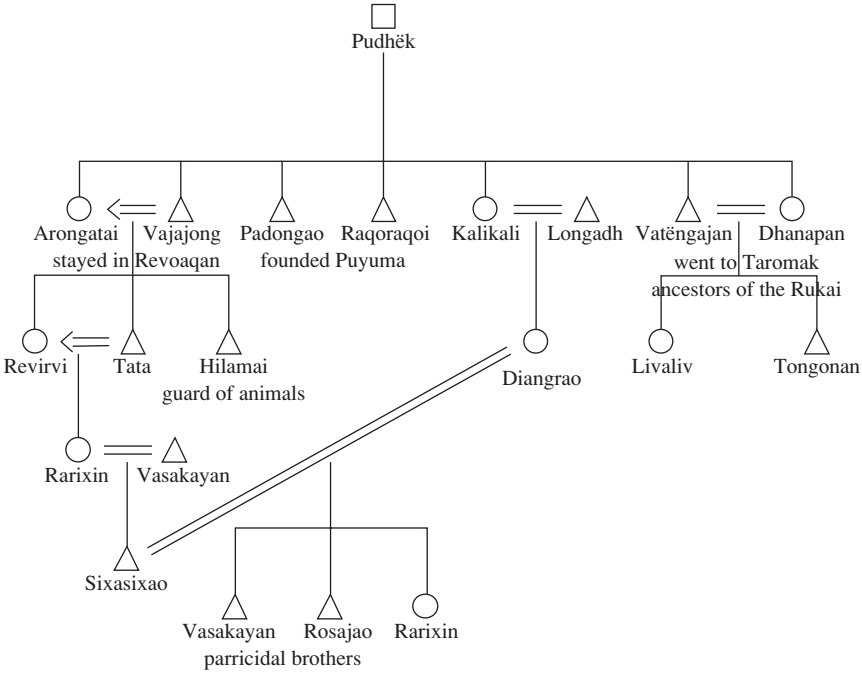


Figure A1.2 The descendants of Pudhek

APPENDIX 2

LEGEND OF THE DIVISION OF THE LAND

Unpublished account told by Gulum from the *Pikel* household.

	tu ʔalup kana Puyuma	The Puyuma's hunting grounds
1	*asua dia ʔi*	Formerly,
2	*ki-nun-ayan na papian*	In the beginning, the Papian
3	*m-u-paŋta kadi kanta*	Were born here with us,
4	*marua la kema ʔi.*	So, that is what they say.
5	*tu resuk-anai*	What he planted,
6	*tu salekudan ʔi*	Was his stick.
7	*marka matina iduna basikaw ʔi*	It became a bamboo, as it grew.
8	*m-u-pangta ta la na Puyuma kema*	We, the Puyuma, came out of it, that is so.
9	*amuna, marua la kema ʔi,*	So, it is good.
10	*m-uka i talun kema ʔi*	Let us go hunting,
11	*milaw-a ɖa biaw*	Let us catch a deer,
12	*aw, marepananini la ʔi*	And share it.
13	*tu alak-aw na murdudu kana Papian*	The Papian took the heart,
14	*aw, ta aɭak-aw na kuŋkuan kema ʔi*	And we took the lungs.
15	*marengai na Papian*	The Papian objected:
16	*'makiten idina murdudu*	'The heart is small,
17	*aw, adi mi kar-a-rua marepanini*	So it is not a fair share,
18	*aw ta paɖaɖuɭun-aw kema'*	Let us change', they said.
19	*aw, ta paɖaɖuɭun-aw la*	So we changed.
20	*aw, kar-a-daderu la ʔi*	Let us cook it together,
21	*ma-da-dayar ɖa an garemai*	We discussed what should be done.
22	*'an ta talubu-anai*	'When we put it,
23	*kana enai idini ʔi*	in the water
24	*ta naʔu-naʔu-ai*	Let us look,

25	*aw, na m-u-luḍun nantaw ʔi*	And the piece that sinks to the bottom
26	*tu a pi-tepa-yaw idina ʔalup'*	Will get this hunting ground.'
27	*tu p-en-adadayar*	Those were the discussions.
28	*aw, tu kar-a-ta-tubu-anai ʔi*	So, we put them together.
29	*m-u-ludun na murdudu*	The heart sank,
30	*aw t-em-ab-aw na kungkuan kema*	And the lungs floated,
31	*aw diama,*	That is why
32	*ta pi-tepa-pay-aw la*	We received as our share
33	*idina ʔalup kema*	These hunting grounds

APPENDIX 3

LEGENDS TOLD BY THE AMIS: KIWIT'S WAR AGAINST THE PUYUMA

When this was finished they said, 'if we stay here, there will be revenge.' These were their thoughts, they were afraid. They went to live in Cilitegan at the top of Satefo (Kiwit territory). The following month, the Puyuma went to Kalala, grass was growing in the courtyards, there was nobody left. The Puyuma wondered, 'Where have they gone?' They saw smoke in the east. 'It's over there', they thought, and went there directly. The children were running around, and having fun in the Tarawadaw river.

The Puyuma thought, 'All right, let us abduct a child, and he will become an adult.' They abducted a child and took him to their village. Omi stayed there with the chief. Ten days later, these Puyuma went to Cilitegan, and their chief said, 'Do not go there early, but when everyone is at work. At that time there will be no young men in the village.' When they arrived, they found the old people in their communal house, who asked them, 'What are you doing here?' They said, 'The day before yesterday, we came this way and a child was crying, he followed us, so we took him with us.' The old people said, 'All right, visit the village.' A few old people took them round. Then they said, 'Let us go and prepare the meal', and others added, 'When you eat the [millet], take your spear.' They went to the communal house and ate and drank their fill, the old people said 'That is enough', and considered that the Puyuma were drunk. They threw their spears at them, and only one escaped, but when it got tangled in the *osal* the strap of his spear came off and he died.

Three young men, Oseg Orad, Oseg Farfat and Mdeg Fohet, went to the Puyuma. They were taken by the Puyuma to the place where heads were displayed, and many women came to see. 'How will they cut off their heads?' Everything necessary for the rites was there, but the children soiled themselves, the dogs cried 'ni . . . ni', and fought over the excrement. The objects needed for the rites were broken by the struggling dogs. The Puyuma said, 'The spirits are mocking us', so they freed the prisoners and brought them to the chief. The next day, they left, saying, 'Thanks to the Spirits, we are alive.' A year later, hundreds of Puyumas went to kill the people of Cilitegan. The people of Cilitegan thought, 'The Puyuma cannot avoid attacking us',

and they waited for them to come, and the young men trained for war. When the Puyuma were there, according to their knowledge, they waged war and cut off heads like millet with a sickle. Blood flowed freely. All the Puyuma were killed.

(Bareigts 1976: 71)

APPENDIX 4

STORY TOLD BY VALIKAI, A KATIPUL[1]

I will now tell the story of our ancestors who went to Parirarilao. These ancestors, who were future chiefs and who went to Parirarilao, were called Karimazao, Padaqol and Tartar. Their wives were Danqan, Ranao and Manamn, and they were also accompanied by Topising.

One day when they went to visit Puyuma, the Puyuma gave them their knives to sharpen, and our ancestors grabbed the knives and broke them on a stone. 'That's finished', they said, and went home to our village in Katipul.

'These are not our relatives any more', they lamented. 'Let us go and find a village', said our ancestors Karimazao, Padaqol and Tartar. Karimazao belonged to the Mavalio household, Padaqol to the Tarulibak household and Tartar to the Karoxolan household.

They arrived near Otori,[2] or so they say. But there, they fought with the Paiwan, they cut their throats and took their heads. They took refuge on a rock in the sea and there they prayed to the spirits, who heard their prayers and started a thunderstorm. The Paiwan, frightened, abandoned their pursuit and went home. They continued their journey to the south and arrived south of Parengoi near Sikio, where they planted their stick and hung the heads on it; our ancestor Danqan gave birth in this village. But they decided the place was too narrow. Then they went south again and arrived at Parirarilao near Longkiao where they founded a village.

APPENDIX 5

LEGEND NARRATED BY TAYLOR

One day, however, two sons of the chief of the Tipuns, while roaming about, went into a village. The inhabitants flocked around, and among other things admired the brightness and sharpness of their swords. Thereupon the young chiefs proceeded to teach the villagers, how to sharpen and keep clean their long knives, and then went on their way. However they had not gone far, before the thought struck them, that, by condescending to sharpen and polish the knives, they must have lowered themselves in the eyes of these people, and that the villagers ought to have known better than to have allowed them to do so. To reassert their dignity, they returned, and commenced to slash away indiscriminately at the poor people, who in turn became enraged, and began shooting arrows at the two young men; then the latter fled, but not without having received some arrow wounds. When they returned home, their father questioned them about the wounds, but as they would not give a satisfactory reply, the old chief made enquiries, with the result that he condemned his two sons to death. They escaped however, and fled south to the land of the Paiwans. Here for some time they suffered great privations, being afraid in the day time to leave the shelter of the woods, for, although the Paiwans aknowledged the chief of the Tipuns as their suzerains, they never allowed strangers to settle on their territory. At last, driven by the pangs of hunger, the two men went on the beach to gather shellfish, were discovered, and pursued; but for six days they managed to elude capture. At last, they were brought to bay, and to save their lives swam to a small rock some distance from the shore. The Paiwans hurried away for boats, while the fugitives prayed to the spirits to send a storm. Their prayers were answered, and such a storm broke out, that the affrighted Paiwans fled to their homes, and allowed the two strangers to remain unmolested. That year there was a great famine in the land, and the Paiwans, who by this time had identified the strangers, considered it to be a punishment from the gods, for their wanton behaviour toward the young chiefs. So, they made sacrifices, and sent messengers with gifts of food and arms, imploring the fugitives to accept them, and become their rulers. Thus the young chiefs became rulers of the Paiwans. The old chief, when he heard of it, acquiesced, and the Paiwans, having declared themselves independent, remained so ever since.

(Taylor 1885–6: 122)

APPENDIX 6

PATINTIN SONG

Aliwaki's version, a *Pasaraʔaḍ*

We, the Elders, discuss,
The opportunity
For going hunting
We agree!
We prepare the meal;
Tie up the dogs, and we're off!
We arrive in the mountains,
Invade the hunting grounds
The well trained dogs
Smell the game
They have spotted it.
The whole pack barks
And surrounds it.
The men watch and shoot.
The animal, struck in the heart, groans.
The hunters hurry
And immobilise it.
The animal is tied up,
Tied to a yoke.
They set out for home.
In the *Karumaʔan*,
The great fire is crackling,
The ashes are red,
the Elders arrive,
Warming their rheumatism
In the soothing smoke.
The animal is presented to the ancestors.
The man and the woman
Exchange and eat the fruits of their labours.
The Elders sit in a circle

To eat their meal.
The household is gathered,
The Elders sing joyfully.

Karagar's version, a *Sapayan*.

Let us go!
We leave
Here, by these gates
Dragging 'those whom we command'.
We arrive
At our hunting grounds.
Over there on the mountainous slopes.
We watch
For the game
Their scent
And the orders given
To 'those whom we command'.
The barking
Makes joyful
The men who are working together.
The watch
By the 'virile warriors',
The accuracy
Of their arrows shot by the bow;
There, in the body,
There, in the heart,
Of the deer.
Tied up.
It is the return
To the ancestral cult house
There, with the Raera,
There, on the shelf.
The spirit of the altar and that of the ancestors
Are happy.
The fire crackles
The offerings are made to Malitabaŋ/Malituŋur
Together, we inhale the smoke.
This man and this woman exchange the meat,
The grain is hung up,
We recite the invocations to Malitabaŋ/Malituŋur
To the Ancestors,
For the accuracy of their plan.

APPENDIX 7

CHRONOLOGY OF THE INVESTITURES

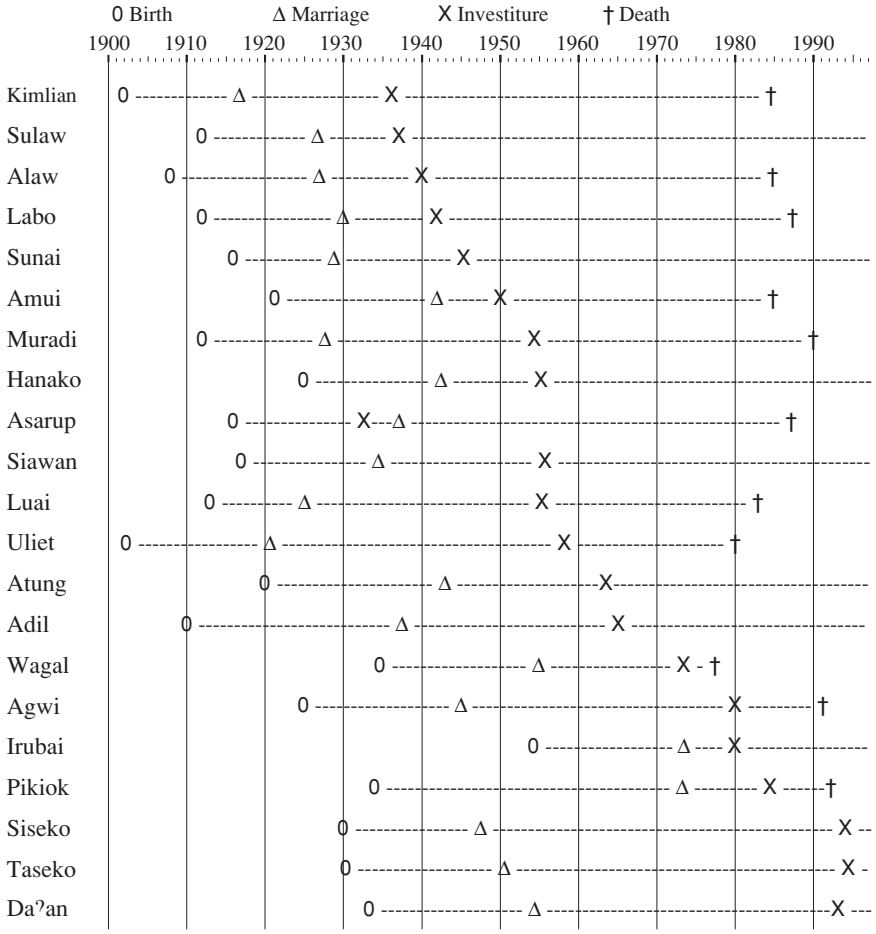


Figure A7.1 Chronology of the investitures

NOTES

FOREWORD

1 Lévi-Strauss, Claude, *La voie des Masques.* Paris, 1979. Specifically in *Paroles données*. Paris, Plon, 1984.
2 In his unpublished PhD, 'Parenté et régulation sociale', 1992.

INTRODUCTION

1 For this passage, refer to the work of Zheng (1995).
2 黄龙 . . . 二年正月 . . . 遣将军微温，诸万直将甲士万人浮海求夷州及异贪州
Then, the text tells us that 1,000 soldiers arrived on 'savage island', *yi chou*. But *t'an chou* was too far off, and the troops had to return to China without landing. See 'Annals of the Three Kingdoms', *Sankuo-chih*, a work dating from the end of the third century AD, written by Chen Shou. Published in 1959, Zhong hua chu ban she, Peking, p. 1136.
3 See the same work, p. 1121.
4 Possible reading 流求，琉球，溜求
5 According to Haguenauer (1930a: 16) 'Goupi island' (Tortoise island), mentioned in the Monograph on the country of *Lieou-k'ieou* of the Historical Annals of the Souei dynasty, was Penghu island.
6 The text of Ma Touan-lin consists of 348 books, the last 25 of which are devoted to a historical and ethnographical description of the various regions of China outside the Empire. This part was translated *in extenso* by Marquis Hervey de Saint-Denys under the title of *Ethnographie des peuples étrangers à la Chine*.
7 According to the *Chung chan chi kien*, cited by Léon de Rosny (1886: 104): 'Under the Soui dynasty, an envoy, named Tchou-kouan, who had the military title of Yu-ki-weï (officer on the winged mount), arrived in this kingdom. When he saw the country amid the waves, he found it was the shape of a one-horned dragon (kiu-loung) floating on the waters. Lieou-kieou was consequently given, for the first time, the name of Lieou-kieou, 'the floating Dragon', translated into French by Schlegel (1895: 108) as 'commandant de la cavalerie volante' and by de Rosny (1886: 104) as 'officier à la monture ailée'.
8 Léon de Rosny (1886: 91–106).
9 Koxinga was perhaps the most remarkable character that modern history exhibits in the Orient. Born in Japan of a Japanese mother and a Chinese father. Ch'eng-kung (Tei-seiko), reaching the age of 22, acompanied by his father, was presented to the Chinese Emperor, who, pleased with the young man's appearance as well as desirous of granting a favour to the father, conferred upon him

the great honour of bearing the name *kuohsingye*, 国姓爷 (Koxinga was the Western deformation), 'the honourable gentleman who bears the same family name as the Emperor'. He was then appointed Commander of the Central Body Guard and was ennobled as a count. As the Ming dynasty was collapsing, many Ming loyalists escaped to southern China. Koxinga sailed with his troops to Taiwan and styled himself 'Count Koxinga, Commander-in-Chief', in the hope of returning to the mainland to restore the Ming dynasty.

10 A *li* is about 500 metres.

11 '*Diary kept at the Batavia fortress*' (1642–82), then the headquarters of the Dutch East-India Company in the Far East.

12 Present-day Tainan, Kaohsiung and Chiayi.

13 After Mao Zedong's rise to power in China, Chiang Kai-shek took refuge with his army in Taiwan. He set up a new government and declared martial law, which was not abolished until 1987.

14 Each village was given permission to elect its chief, as long as he was acknowledged by the local Chinese official.

15 For these people, see the unpublished PhD of Li Kao-min, 'Etude comparative des célébrations annuelles de deux sociétés austronésiennes sinisées de Taiwan: les Makatao et les Siraya', École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, Paris, 1999.

16 See his story in Chapter 1, p. 32.

1 THE PUYUMA

1 See Cauquelin (1991a, b).

2 From Minnan: *huan*, barbarian.

3 The first ancestor changed into a mountain after advising the twins 'born of the bamboo' to put a skin between their bodies during the sex act so as to avoid the birth of further monsters.

4 Manuʔan: pejorative name given to the Bunun by the Puyuma.

5 Duŋɖuŋan is the name of the site of the first village. In Puyuma *pa-*/ indicates the causative and *-an*/ the place, which gives 'he who made the place Duŋɖuŋan'.

6 Raurawi comes from *rawi*, 'to relay, to make a chain'.

7 Kaɭikaɭi comes from *kaɭi*, 'stream'.

8 Name of Amis, close neighbours of the Puyuma (see Introduction, p. 17).

9 Pejorative term designating an Amis group.

10 *Sanusanum* is a spring close to the village. Today, *sanum* means 'tap'.

11 *iteŋ*: unidentified plant of the *Solanum* family used to lacquer teeth black.

12 *taleb*: crude boat.

13 *senten*: dull thud of a burden falling to the ground.

14 *ʈuliʈuɭi*: to scratch, scratches.

15 Certain story tellers say that the sister was swallowed by the reptile; others prefer to say that she changed into a snake.

16 *ɖelia*: to vomit, *pa-*/ causative. Today, an inexhaustible spring flows at this spot.

17 The missing middle section of the story is told and analysed in Chapter 6.

18 The court gave the title of 'native chief', *tu si*, to a local chief who was instructed to collect taxes and pay tribute to the empire, but these chiefs exceeded their role, and ordered people to pay all the expenses caused by exceptional ceremonies in their household – births, marriages and deaths. See Cauquelin (1998b).

2 THE VILLAGE

1 Hong Ye in Chinese.
2 On 28 October 1930, the Atayals revolted. One group cut the throats of about 20 policemen on duty at a police station, while another group attacked a garrison, massacring about 200 Japanese of both sexes. In revenge, the Japanese attacked six Atayal villages with heavy artillery, and killed the entire population. The illustrated weekly *Le Miroir du Monde* of 8 November 1930 devoted two pages to this event.
3 < *ni-*/ /*-an*, location; *bua*, fruit.
4 It goes: *ma-*/, actor focus; *-i-*/, location; *datar*, archaic term; in Malay, flat land.
5 *dekal*: village.
6 LeBar (1975: 131) notes that the Paiwan and Rukai 'children affiliate with the lineage or "house", i.e. assume the house name (*ngatan a[n] umaq*), of the household into which they are born.'
7 The circumfix *sa-*/ /*-an* indicates a unity: *maw*, identical; *sayamunan*, the meaning seems to have been lost; *sarumaŋan* < *ruma*, house.
8 Literally 'go inside', < *abak*, interior, *mu-*/ go.
9 See (Chapter 6) how the *Pasaraʔaḍ* moved from the lower to the upper moiety in 1929.
10 This explains the entangled patchwork of the village (see Map 2.3).
11 Names of households express, in general, the idiosyncrasies of their creations. For example, the *Bakabak* household, 'the kitchen garden', surrounded their dwelling with a garden at the time of division with the *Dalialep*, 'the neighbours', themselves the result of a separation from the *Raera*, whom they could not move far from. Other names illustrate a physical characteristic of the person who left, such as *Kenas*, 'the bald one', or *Parababuyan*, 'those who are as fierce as wild boar'. Others indicate their success, such as the *Purapuran*, 'those who possess many areca palms', or the *Tiam*, 'those who have been successful in trade'. The Puyuma have a perfect memory of their different divisions and they all claim to be attached to their 'founding household', *samawan*.

3 GODS AND MEN

1 *birua* is an asexual term.
2 In the village of Katipul, it is called Demawai, 'the creator'. In Puyuma the Catholics use this term, but the villagers say that before the missionaries arrived they never did. The term 'smith', *meʔasi* (< *asi*, fire), which can be heard in the prayer recited for a dying man, is also used.
3 < *laḍam*, to know.
4 < *idiwan*, thin.
5 *ka-*/ . . . /*-an*/, the principle of . . . , *isat*, height.
6 < *baḷis, ḍuḷun*, to change.
7 < *ŋaḍaw*, seat, to sit down.
8 There, where the shaman ancestors live, those to whom she speaks.
9 < *rabak*, to circle, to enclose; < *ʈaʔep*, to lie down.
10 < *ʈali*, the gardener's measuring tape; *ki-*/, reflexive; /*-in-*/, the thing done; /*-an*/, generic term.
11 < *ʈunulan*, descendants, ancestors.
12 < *baʔaw*, living.
13 Parents threaten disobedient children with a visit from a *birua*.
14 < *ki-*/, reflexive; *tia*, dream.
15 *law*, bamboo splinters, from the Amis language; /*meʔ*/, 'he who . . .'.

16 The *benabulu* throws invocations around; this may be the origin of his name.
17 <*tara*, to stretch out the hand; *maw*, identical. The terminology is linked to the most important hand gesture.
18 The bamboo diviner Buya, a *Pakaoyan*, aged 35, is a beginner in his profession and he is the only one to recite in Puyuma.
19 The doyenne seeks the bamboos' decision to designate ritual places: riverbank, village exit to drive out miasmas etc. Shamans are therefore not responsible for the spirits' wrath if the place is not suitable.
20 The diviner Adaw's bamboos named the *benabulu* Aliwaki when he hoped to marry his brother-in-law to Aliwaki's daughter. Unfortunately, the latter, after much hesitation, refused the match; Adaw's bamboos suddenly designated another *benabulu*.
21 Since Japanese colonisation, male ritual practitioners have noted invocations in Japanese *katakana*, and have drawn the layout of the ritual.
22 At the present time, the founding household of the lower moiety has no *benabulu*. Apuŋ, the eldest woman of the household in charge of the ancestral cult house, called for one from another household. Buya, in charge of one of the three founding households of the upper moiety, died in an accident in 1989, and no man from the household had a vocation to follow him, so it was decided temporarily to abandon the ancestral cult house. The founding ancestors' house had been entrusted to a member of the household who converted to Catholicism, and never performed any rituals. The council of Elders then decided to entrust this ritual space to another man from the household.
23 The shaman is the spirits' interlocutor, and they are supposed to communicate to her, in dreams, the organisation of a new ritual. For several years, the river had been overflowing frequently, flooding a field, but no ritual existed since this kind of disaster had never occurred in the past. The doyenne of the shamans dreamed of the rite, the arrangement of the areca nuts and the invocations. The rite was successfully performed.
24 The Puyuma say that snakes, zebus, or oxen, and dogs possess a *tinabawan*, and that a field or house where one of these animals has been killed must be purified.
25 The shaman Irubai always wears a small red pouch containing an areca nut, a 'support for her vital energy', *ɭuʾum*.
26 The evergreen fir 'passes on its vitality and possesses fire'. Women shamans light a fir-wood fire during the investiture of a novice (see Chapter 7).
27 A symbol of the founding ancestors' house.
28 Situated a few kilometres north of the village.
29 The name of the supposed first areca planter.
30 < *rakaɖ*, the base.
31 *matin*, the age at which a child loses his milk-teeth.
32 Stones used to construct an altar.
33 *bati*, word.
34 A plant with bitter and astringent qualities.
35 *Lysimachia foenum graecum*. *Birua* in general, and ancestors in particular, like the smell of this plant, which is also used to make crowns.
36 < *ʈaw*, human; *-tu*, to make; */-in-/*, thing made.
37 *ɭakana*, the Elders' age set, < Minnan dialect.
38 *pubiaw*: < *pu-/*, to do; *biaw*, deer. The 'rite of the deer' may be performed on two levels, the household or the whole village. In the first case, the rite, in which the household participates, with its different branches and their spouses, takes place in the ancestral cult house of this household. In the second case, it takes place in the ancestral cult house of the founding ancestors of the village 'born of the

bamboo', and all the villagers must participate. In both cases, it is performed to restore order, such as good health and/or good harvests.

39 In 1984, the *Kenas* household, which had suffered several deaths and bad harvests, decided to perform this ritual at the end of *maŋayaw*.

40 Descendants honour their bilateral ancestors. For example, the *Kenas* household invited the shaman Hanako since her great-grandmother was a *Kenas*, and her husband since he was a relation by marriage. Apuŋ is a *Raera*, and she took part because her mother was a *Kenas* married to a *Raera.*

4 BIRTH AND DEATH

1 MacGovern (1922: 122) writes: 'Twins are considered "unlucky", and the weaker of the pair is usually killed at birth.' According to certain informants, both newborn babies, without distinguishing between the sexes, were smothered, but other villagers claim that only one child was killed and the other given to a neighbouring tribe. I have not been able to ascertain which of the two babies was killed, and for what reasons.

2 This place is called *parisarisan* from *arisan*, identical, with reference to twins, *marisarisan*.

3 If such a birth takes places, the father must accomplish the following rite: at dawn, he must place a stick on the mark, while speaking the child's name, followed by that of the animal killed, then repeating them in reverse order. The mark will thus pass from the child to the stick.

4 'There is no more blood to attract blood', as the Puyuma say.

5 A convenient position, according to the women.

6 This belt possesses apotropaic qualities.

7 Here is the recipe for the tonic: boil in water the herbs *Centipeda*, *Sambucus formosana*, *Lypogodium japonicum*, *Blumea balsamifera*, *Mazus*, *Cyathula* and *Centella asiatica*, with ginger, rice beer and other unidentified plants. The potion is obtained as follows: toast husked millet, and then cook it in water and store it in a pot. Add water when it is used.

8 Vital energy, *ɭuʾum*, and 'what makes a man', *paʾʈaw*, are located in the skull, whence the importance of head-hunting.

9 Men had their hair cut square and then turned upward, in the form of a gutter.

10 Knee-length overskirt, revealing the embroidery of the *labit* skirt on the left side.

11 Women separated their hair with a central parting.

12 As said before, since the arrival of foreign missionaries at the beginning of the 1950s, they invoke Demawai, 'the creator', but formerly they invoked *paʾʈaw*, 'what makes a man'.

13 Tebla (1903: 42–3) writes: 'The birth of a female child is always celebrated more than that of a boy . . . these savages, seeing the services they can expect from their daughters with regard to housework, weaving, and work in the fields, bring them up with a care that is not entirely selfless. There is no point in bothering about boys, who will soon leave the house for the adventures of hunting and fishing.'

14 *ʈebeʈebelan* < *ʈebel*, to bury (Kyudu in Japanese).

15 *inulid* < *ulid*, not to know; *in-*/, prefix marking completion.

16 A labourer in the Taitung region earned about 15,000 yuan in 1985 and 25,000 yuan in 1997.

17 *ʈemali* < *ʈali*, the gardener's measuring tape.

18 *kurbaɭibaɭi* < *baɭi*, the wind; *kur-*/, together.

19 *pualib* < *alib*, flat stone; *pu-*/, to make.

20 *kalamanan* < *laman*, pity; *ka-*/ /*-an*, the archetype.
21 *kawaŋ* < *kawaŋ*, path; *pa-*/, causative.

5 FAMILY HORIZONS

1 The myth of the community's origin shows a timid but intelligent elder brother and a brave younger brother beset by problems. The elder brother's physical frailty does not prevent him from providing for the household, while giving the younger the same legitimacy. Remember, the latter is the founding ancestor of the whole group.
2 *sinki* and *siʔen* < Minnan dialect, used today in preference to the Puyuma terms of kinship on account of mixed marriage.
3 Names of households are given in *italics*.
4 *ɭiṭuŋ*, to lock up, 'the surrounded'.
5 The couple's astonishment, when I told them of this common ancestry, was not feigned.
6 A newly promoted 'virile-warrior', aged about 21, had to wait a year before marrying.
7 That is, no land.
8 This government's policy was the 'Hanism' of all the aborigines. Tang Mei-chun of Taiwan National University wrote in 1970 of 'Great Hanism, that is to Sinize all the minorities'.
9 From *min kuo*, nationalist. Young soldiers, aged 18–20, followed Chiang Kai-shek to Taiwan in 1949.

6 DUAL ORGANISATION AND AGE-SYSTEM

1 Tekes is the mountain behind Taitung.
2 *Raera*, to spread, to strew. *Aliʔalib* no longer exists.
3 Raurawi was the founding ancestor of the *Pasaraʔaḍ* household, < *rawi*, to relay, to make a chain.
4 The secondary households possessing an ancestral cult house are *Tiam*, *Purburbuʔ an*, *Pinudaranan*, *Kenas*, *Kagi*, *Pakaoyan*. Those without one are *Butul*, *Bakabak*, *Dalialep*.
5 Radcliffe-Brown's (1929) definition: 'Age-grades: "Recognized divisions of the life of an individual as he passes from infancy to old age – infant, boy, youth, young married man, elder or whatever it may be". In the context of age-set systems the above definition must be specified, as we are dealing with formalized age-grades where an institutionalized, comprehensive system of statuses are connected with each age-grade. Age-set: A recognized group consisting of persons who are of the same age'.
6 Because there is no sex differentiation up to the age of 13, I use the term 'boys' house' for the years between 13 and 18, where there is a strong sex differentiation.
7 'Among the Amis, the Tchou and the Paiwan, unmarried boys lived neither with their parents nor with the other couples making up the family; they slept in the "men's houses" whose access was forbidden to women' (Fujisaki 1928: 202).
8 Radcliffe-Brown (1929) proposed to dismiss the 'ambiguous' term *class*. But within the Puyuma age-system it makes sense. Both places house attributes responsible for their power.
9 The age pyramid established by Tseng Cheng-ming in 1976 (see Figure 2.3) shows that out of 822 men recorded, 220 were aged between 10 and 20. The Japanese administration's aboriginal household census bureau showed, in 1926,

862 Puyuma, 426 men and 436 women, half as many as in 1976. Based on the same age distribution, there must have been only about 100 boys, about 50 per building, which is confirmed by informants and photos taken during the 1950s.

10 According to the plans drawn by Japanese and Taiwanese ethnologists, and the indications given by Puyuma, the inside diameter varies between eight and ten metres.

11 According to informants, the two sub-age-sets among the 'big ones' bore different names: *pakilebu* for the second year and *mardawan* for the first year. The latter probably shared the stalls with the *talibatukan*, thus respecting the rules of eviction of two adjacent sub-age-sets.

12 See the reconstruction of Blust's proto-Austronesian, see note 22, Chapter 6. The Puyuma say that *ŋa* is the shout given when heads were cut off; see the legend of 'toothed vagina'.

13 Since the prohibition of hunting by the Japanese, the Puyuma make a substitute out of betel leaves.

14 < *kudaw*, to swing an object impaled on a stick ritually back and forth. Singing this song, like all other sacred songs outside the ritual time and place, is sanctioned by a 'twisted mouth'.

15 Young boys no longer sleep in this house and training no longer takes place. I have nevertheless used the ethnographer's present tense.

16 His father was a teacher during the Japanese occupation. Nicknames were often chosen in the occupant's language.

17 The growing plant, *baturan*, is called *padede?an* when the stem is heated. Ash is immediately applied to the teeth.

18 The Puyuma do not explain the choice of these two products, but ginger is used in Oriental medicine in massages to relieve rheumatism, and Lemonnier (1990: 109) cites numerous studies of populations in New Guinea that use pork fat as an ointment or a food; its virtues include fertility and driving away restless spirits.

19 Younger brothers living at home bring water to the wounded so they may wash their bruised bodies.

20 Up to 20 young men, according to year-peers.

21 The sound of the bells was different in each moiety. The upper moiety had nine bells and the lower only six.

22 *Maŋayaw* < from the proto-Austronesian reconstructed by Blust in 1995. *kayaw*, cut off heads; *ma-*/, actor focus. The phoneme /*-ŋ*/ is probably the transformation of /*k*/. The adaptations mentioned in the notes at the end of the description are partly due to modern life, and do not alter the profound meaning of *maŋayaw*, especially since, in the course of a few years, between 1983 and 1989, I have noted a return to the past. In 1983, the Taiwanese flag flew over the hunting camp, but in 1989 it was no longer there. In 1983, the men allowed me to join them in the mountains, but in 1989, this was impossible. I had to argue, as a woman, to obtain permission to go, not to the hunting ground, but to the road beside their camp. The final example is the eviction of the shamans from the collective rites mentioned below.

23 < *pitu*, seven, in fact the ninth month, which is in December. The Puyuma have four fourth months. Kamawmawan, kaduayan, kate⌊uan, kapatan (the fourth), kapatan nuwayan (the fourth before), melibak kapatan (the fourth beginning), tarbilin kapatan (the fourth leaving), kaneman, kapituan, kawaluluan, kaiwayan, kapu⌊u'an.

24 For example, in 1989, the Elders decided that the women shamans who had helped them for more than ten years to set up the 'masters of the village gates' should no longer participate. Formerly, they were kept away from all these

collective rituals, and there was no reason not to respect the traditions of the ancestors. There were lively discussions, and the bamboos broke the deadlock between the Elders and approved the exclusion of women and the return to the ritual performed in the past.

25 The bamboos designate the *benabulu* belonging to a household of the moiety that he must purify, which explains the necessity for two men.

26 It is strictly forbidden for women to enter the mountains. In 1985, two wives, bringing the men's food, crossed the internal limits of the camp, and the same evening, two 'virile-warriors' died in a road accident.

27 Singing, always *a capella*, is a social obligation for the Puyuma, and it is an offence to refuse to sing.

28 Unidentified.

29 The bamboo area consists of a double circle, an inner circle where the Elders sit, and an outer one where the 'virile-warriors' stand. This double circle is always built just outside the outer limits of the village, on a piece of ground that the women clear of rubbish or undergrowth. This cultivated area prepared by women in the middle of the countryside provides an intermediate halt for the men on their way back to the village.

30 Informants give contradictory explanations; it appears that formerly, only the father chose the godfather, but today both parents are responsible.

31 Among the Ma'anayan, a stratified group of the Barito in Borneo, *bangsalan* is one the the three classes, and means 'nobles' (Whittier 1973). *Bangsalan* is akin to the Malay *bangsawan*, also meaning 'nobleman', but litterally 'of [good] breed'. I translated this term as 'virile-warrior' because he can wage war and procreate.

32 He nevertheless has to wait for a year.

33 He had to be from another Austronesian group.

34 The text collected by Schröder and Quack (1979: 110) says: 'Friend, I am eating, let us eat. I will give you some food first, then I will eat. I give you this first to feed you, since you like me. Otherwise, why would you have come to me, why would you have met me if you did not like me? Since we are now friends, I will give you food. But maybe you don't like me? In that case, I will give you some millet cakes and wine; that is what we will eat and drink.' This author's informants add that the warrior had to feed the head every year at the end of the ritual to thank the rice-giving ancestors.

35 The Youkaghir studied by Lot-Falck (1953) say: 'If the reindeer does not like the hunter, the hunter will not be able to kill it.' Dournes (1977: 212) mentions that the Jörai wind round their arrows a thread from the web of the net-muei spider (*Nephile maculata fabricius*), so that 'the animals will follow the thread until they meet the arrow (lit. "enter the arrow", the animal goes towards the waiting arrow)'.

36 Informants say that they urinated at the foot of the shelf while talking to the head: 'You have come here, friend, to strengthen your centre.'

37 This waistcoat is woven or embroidered by the wife.

38 *Muntiacus muntjac*, a very common species of small deer. They are found in Sri Lanka, all over south and south-east Asia, in the Sunda islands and Bali.

39 MacGovern (1922: 110) notes: 'regulates the social and political standing of the men of the tribe – no head, no wife – and is reflected in the games, the songs, and the dances of the people'.

40 According to the genealogical study performed in 1984, men over 70 had their first child at an average age of 31. The destructuring of society has led to a lack of respect for the minimum age for procreation.

41 Campbell (1903: 75) writes: 'The ridiculous part of their religion is that the people find sin in things which are really not sinful. For instance, it is considered

an evil thing . . . for any pregnant woman to keep alive her children before her 37 year of age.' In fact, Campbell quotes a letter written by the missionary G. Candidius to Governor-General J. P. Coen on 20 August 1628: 'This crime of destroying the fruit of the womb is committed by the women till they have reached their thirtieth, thirty third or their thirty fifth year. They also feel proud of the number of children they have destroyed, several women having confessed to me that they had already killed eight, others twelve and others again fifteen.'

42 The initiate kills, but may also be considered to take the life of a stranger, i.e. to prevent him from killing and thus giving life to his community; this represents a reversal of values when the warrior passes from the outside to the inside. Perhaps this procedure enables the Puyuma to go towards the exterior and the unknown, and appropriate it. It is true that the aborigines also cut heads off the Chinese in the seventeenth century, and later off the Japanese, but they did not call these enemies *ʔalaʔala.* It was an act of revenge, rather than a ritual. For example, to defend themselves from the colonial power, the Atayal decided to bring back a Japanese head every day.

43 The average age of women, now aged over 70, at the birth of their first child was 26.7 years.

44 The Japanese recorded a more or less stable population between 1895 and 1945.

45 As far as I know about other populations' shamans, they were never well paid.

46 According to the materials we possess, Siraya possessed an authentic age-system.

47 For example, *temamataw* Shetiaŋ (the father of Shetiaŋ) of the *Pasaraʔaḍ* household belongs to the Kinaburaw men's house, which is attached to the *Luŋaḍan* household, since his godfather Baurul from the *Pakaoyan* household is a member of this house. Yet the men's house attached to the *Pasaraʔaḍ* is Patapaŋ, to which *temamataw* Shetiaŋ's father belonged.

48 The names of the two *benabulu*, Tibikan and Ulidayan, are often cited, but also that of the former village chief Mulugan.

49 This participation in the godfather's work is now replaced by gifts given to his wife. The godfather, in exchange, gives his godson the virile-warrior's leggings, embroidered or more rarely woven by his wife. For example, the husband of the shaman Hanako, Tusan, is the godfather of three 'virile-warriors' and two young *miabubtan*. Tusan gave the belt of rattles, and Hanako wove the leggings. Gifts circulate in the opposite direction for the *miabubtan*. The young men give their godfather a few things. Hanako got a coffee table, flowers and gold bracelets. The *miabubtan* give their godfather presents to thank him for agreeing to sponsor them.

50 Of course, this has not been proved. This structure is very common in Indonesia and Mabuchi (1974: 308) writes: 'The most widespread feature it that the descendants of the first settlers of occupants are primarily the owners of land in both magico-religious and jural sense. And even when the later-comers become polically dominant over them and deprive them of the jural ownership of land, they still retain magico-religious privileges in land affairs.' However, the genealogy of this family is very accurate from this event onwards.

51 The Puyuma remember that the *sacra* warded off enemy bombs during the war.

52 They call them *ʔala* though formally they were not.

53 Ages given are approximate.

54 A beheaded woman seems to combine two advantages. She brings fertility to the village, while depriving her own people of her fecundity.

7 SHAMANS

1 I worked only with women.
2 Irubai's father was a Hakka, which explains why he also consulted Chinese gods.
3 This lady practises as a Puyuma shaman but also as a Taiwanese medium, *tanky*.
4 *biar*, in the process of drying up. It is the bag's first outing, it 'gets used to the sun's burning rays', say the shamans; indeed, the bag is always carefully wrapped in a square of material and put inside their handbags.
5 *ḷagan*, to erect; */ma-/*, actor focus.
6 *niraw* < *rawi*, to relay, to make a chain; *ni-/*, thing made. Glass beads are no longer available in shops; the novice must acquire those that belonged to her electing ancestor, which are usually sold for large sums by the ancestor's direct descendants, 3,000 and 4,000 yuan in 1985 for four beads.
7 The rattle must be decorated in exactly the same way as the one in the bag that fell from the sky for Samguan (see the legend told below).
8 An evil spell, *kinalalegi*, is represented by a mouldy areca nut.
9 *lawinan* < *lawin*, to hang; */-an/*, locative. They hang their necklaces of fired clay beads on the bamboo; the object has acquired the name of its use, *lawinan*, which, by extension, has given its name to the sanctuary.
10 *penetik* < *petik*, to splash.
11 *da'us*, oil; */ka-/*, future; */-em-/*, actor focus.
12 *marimaw* < *mar-/*, reciprocity; *maw*, identical.
13 I wanted to borrow it to photocopy it in town, but Irubai told the doyenne, who refused. *Birua* cannot move around like that, so I had to take a photo of it *in situ*.
14 *inusugayan* < *suga*, hair, symbolising woman; */-in-/*, thing made; */-an/*, generic aspect. *inudawayan*, figurine, puppet, < *dawai*, body; */-in-/*, thing made; */-an/*, generic aspect.
15 < *payapai*, to flutter in the wind.
16 *sugun* is a little apron tied at the back, but is not specific to shamans. Old women always wear them.
17 One evening there was an unfortunate occurrence. While I was, with Irubai, translating an invocation without previously informing the *birua*, 'the ancestors came'. It is all right to disturb the *birua* even for a translation, but they must be told, and thanked.
18 I have always been astounded by the ignorance of religious practitioners: their translations are always contextual, and they say it is impossible to take them out of their ritual context.
19 Invocations are always recited, never sung. Nevertheless, in 1993 I noticed that the doyenne's recitation was becoming sing-song, probably because of her voice problems.
20 Certain metaphors, by definition, are reserved for shamans: those concerning the bag and dead shamans.
21 This sentence concerns the supernature. They say 'Everything must be beautiful and well made, like beautiful, well oiled hair.' Hair plays an important role. Shamans are forbidden to cut their hair, which is used as a screen between the visible and the invisible world during the annual voyage (they put their hair over their eyes). The shaman Asarup died for breaking this taboo. They do not set out on their voyage until they have washed their hair. Hanako says: 'I had been sterile for ten years. One evening, after coming back from the fields, and washing from head to foot (including washing my hair), I set out spontaneously on the *yaulas*, and then I was pregnant.' I have not been able to ascertain whether this is a sexual preparation.

22 It is obvious that if the ritual is badly performed, the *birua* will tell them.
23 The calling and dismissal of the *birua* are done in a chest voice; a meeting with the elector-spirit or a known, named ancestor is more painful than one with 'the masters of the hunt, of the ground', who, although belonging to the category of *birua*, have no real life; however, in both cases, a head voice is used.
24 The doyenne is afflicted with this dysfunction, but refuses all medical assistance on the grounds that she has never found the cause of the disorder. At the 1993 *pualasakan* ritual, she lost her voice completely, but the *birua* revealed that this was caused by a bad rendering of the 'appeasement' songs.
25 See J. Cauquelin, U-matic and Video 8 film, 59 minutes. Paris: CNRS/LASEMA.
26 The spirit advises the doyenne to take no notice of Agwi, and concentrate on Irubai.
27 *ligu*, power of becoming invisible, gift of premonition; *mi-/*, to have.
28 Remember that Turan shan is the big mountain north of the village, created by the petrification of the group's first mythical ancestor, *maidaŋ*, 'the ancestor'.
29 According to Mabuchi (1974) the Puyuma became rice-growers at the end of the nineteenth century; Suenari (1994: 200) speaks of the beginning of the twentieth century; MacGovern (1922) accuses the Japanese of forcing it on all the mountain-dwellers.
30 The Puyuma confirm that the aunt was a bamboo diviner, even though the bamboos only speak to men.
31 The shamans use the term *kikarun*, to work.
32 The Amis group, neighbours of the Puyuma, listen to the *cirot* bird: 'Then, there were signs sent by the spirits so that men could go to war, and assemble to hunt and fish. Then Atopogay no Cidal came down, the *cirot* bird which, when we men go to the fields, makes us turn back, with its cry of "*cirot . . . ci . . . rot*". When we go to the fields, to war, or fishing, if it is on the right, alights on a tree and sings: "it is a good sign, we will cut off heads, we will catch fish, we will catch game", that is what the ancestors taught us, it is a good sign if it [the *cirot*] is on the right. If this bird is on the left, "we will have an inauspicious departure, we will die, we will be wounded, we will be bitten by snakes, we will return empty-handed, we will catch no fish". That is what the ancestors said' (Bareigts 1976: 47). The Amis, like the other aboriginal groups on the island, used to be head-hunters. The Elders said that the omen of the *cirot* bird meant not only fruitful hunting and fishing, but also head-hunting.
33 Today, the Puyuma pay a professional hunter a fortune for this animal.
34 Probably a deformation of *ʈakaw*, to steal.
35 Sanasan, called 'Green Island' by the administration, is a small island off Taitung. The Puyumas' pragmatism makes them mention Sanasan, perhaps as an island, or a place, that was inaccessible at that time.
36 See Hamayon (1990a: 380): 'Fishing (which, we must remember, is seen as a minor duplicate of hunting, with the fish as game, and the water as the forest)'.
37 A Chinese name. Shamans say he was called Aruilum, but this name does not feature in the tablets of the ancestors.
38 The doyenne of the shamans remembers meeting him when she was a little girl.
39 These are the words that are always recited at the end of the 'voyage'.
40 Another elderly woman, Araitai, who is not a shaman, knows who Udekaw is, while other shamans speak of a judge, an unknown woman etc.
41 *kayakai*, bamboo suspension-bridge, also mentioned by Atung.
42 Takilis is on the coast, in Amis territory.

8 MATERIAL CIVILISATION

1 An industrial drink based on stimulants, including caffeine.
2 Fields in Taiwan are infested with rats; in 1984 the government distributed free rat poison, but no one used it.
3 The recipe for the sauce is as follows: 'Boil in water the herbs *kaŋusiŋusian* (*Centipeda*), *baʈikiŋ* (unidentified), from the Chinese *maʈikin*, 'horse's hoof', *layaḍ* (*Sambucus formosana*), *sarisariʔan* (*Lygodium japonicum*), *alumu* (*Blunea balsamifera*), *sayat* (*Mazus*?), *kuliaʔsaw* (*Cyathula*), *liḍiliḍiŋan* (an unidentified plant of the Labiatae family), *tabulalai* (*Centella asiatica*). Add the rat or chicken cut into pieces and ginger, add a generous amount of rice alcohol, about a litre, and boil for several minutes.'
4 Clean a bucket with the *saŋrio* plant (*Vitex negundo*), which possesses antiseptic qualities, then fill the bucket with husked sticky rice, *ḍekeʈan*, add a small lump of yeast, cover the bucket with a cloth and leave for 48 hours in a warm room at about 20 °C. Housewives made their yeast as follows: 'Cook a little water from *kanadun* beans (*Abrus precatorius*), chrysanthemums, *pulikuḍakuḍan*, add two or three *padedeʔan* leaves (*Murraya paniculata*), reduce until only a bowlful is left, mix with ground rice, leave to dry.'
5 Literally 'to swing'. See Appendix 6.
6 Today, at *maŋayaw*, game is still shared as in former days.
7 Informants insist on the exceptional nature of these expeditions, which were disapproved of by the group.
8 Imbault-Huart (1893: 264) strangely notes that either men or women listen for omens: 'Men and women also have a daily superstition: every morning, at daybreak, each goes alone along the path, in order to observe the augural bird (a blackish wren, very common in the mountains). Does the bird, alone or in a flock fly across the path? It is a good omen and projected activities will have a good outcome. But if the bird's trajectory is perpendicular or parallel to the path, the aborigine can only hide himself in his house, since the day is heavy with bad luck, no game or Chinese heads; the woman hesitates to go to the fountain, for fear of meeting a deadly snake on the way; tattooing is postponed and the lover will take care not to ask for a girl's hand in marriage. Omens derived from the direction of the bird's flight are corroborated for good or evil, when the rhythm of its song is not clear.'
9 The text says *ka . . . an*, the archetype, which enables me to write Bird with a capital letter.
10 This is either an archaism or a borrowing.
11 A knife, made of good quality steel and well decorated, cost about two weeks' salary for a labourer in 1997.
12 < *asiru*, orange.
13 < *ḍekeʈ*, sticky.
14 < *betu*, small bunch.
15 A short digression on the word *beras*. It is a widely used term in Indonesian languages, and is *bras* in Tibetan, according to Cowan (1965: 217).
16 < Japanese.
17 Modern version.
18 The etymology of this word seems to have been lost.
19 It is, nowadays a communal house.
20 It is forbidden to speak while taro is being planted. Otherwise, when the stem is eaten the throat will tickle. Cooking the stem properly is an art. A girl who cannot make taro stem soup will not find a husband.
21 < Japanese.

22 < from Minnan dialect, *hsui niu*.
23 Contracted form of *penia*.

9 THE ABORIGINES IN TAIWAN TODAY

1 Tang Mei-chun of Taiwan National University speaks in 1970 of 'Great Hanism, that is to Sinize all the minorities.'
2 In the 1980s, a spot was broadcast on TV over a period of several months, urging people to stop drinking this industrial rice alcohol, which leads to mental disturbances.
3 Usually known as 'Alliance of Taiwan Aborigines'.
4 According to Philip Liu (1992: 27), 'A recent television report indicated that the price of a girl varied between 10,000 and 20,000 American dollars.'
5 Extract from a paper presented by J. Lagerwey, researcher at École Française d'Extrême-Orient, at a CNRS seminar in 1990, 'Étude comparative des techniques de communication avec l'invisible'.

APPENDIX 4 STORY TOLD BY VALIKAI, A KATIPUL

1 This is the summary of the text collected by Schröder in 1966 and translated into German by Quack (1985), which he gives in Puyuma (Katipul). I have retained Quack's transcription for proper names.
2 Present-day Tanaio, located 55 kilometres south of Taitung.

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